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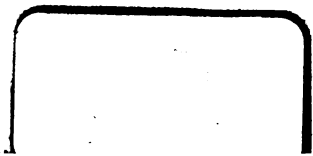


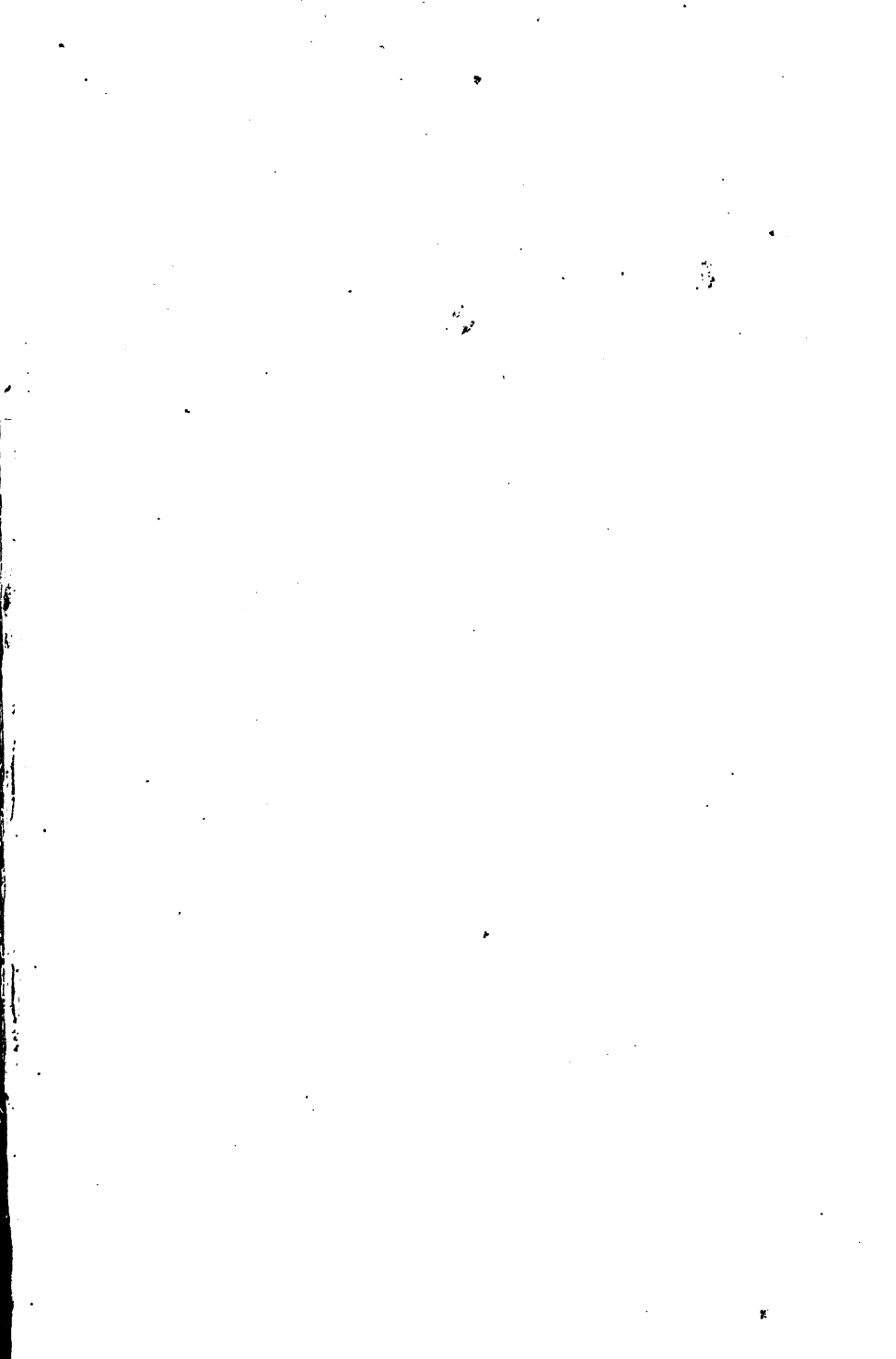
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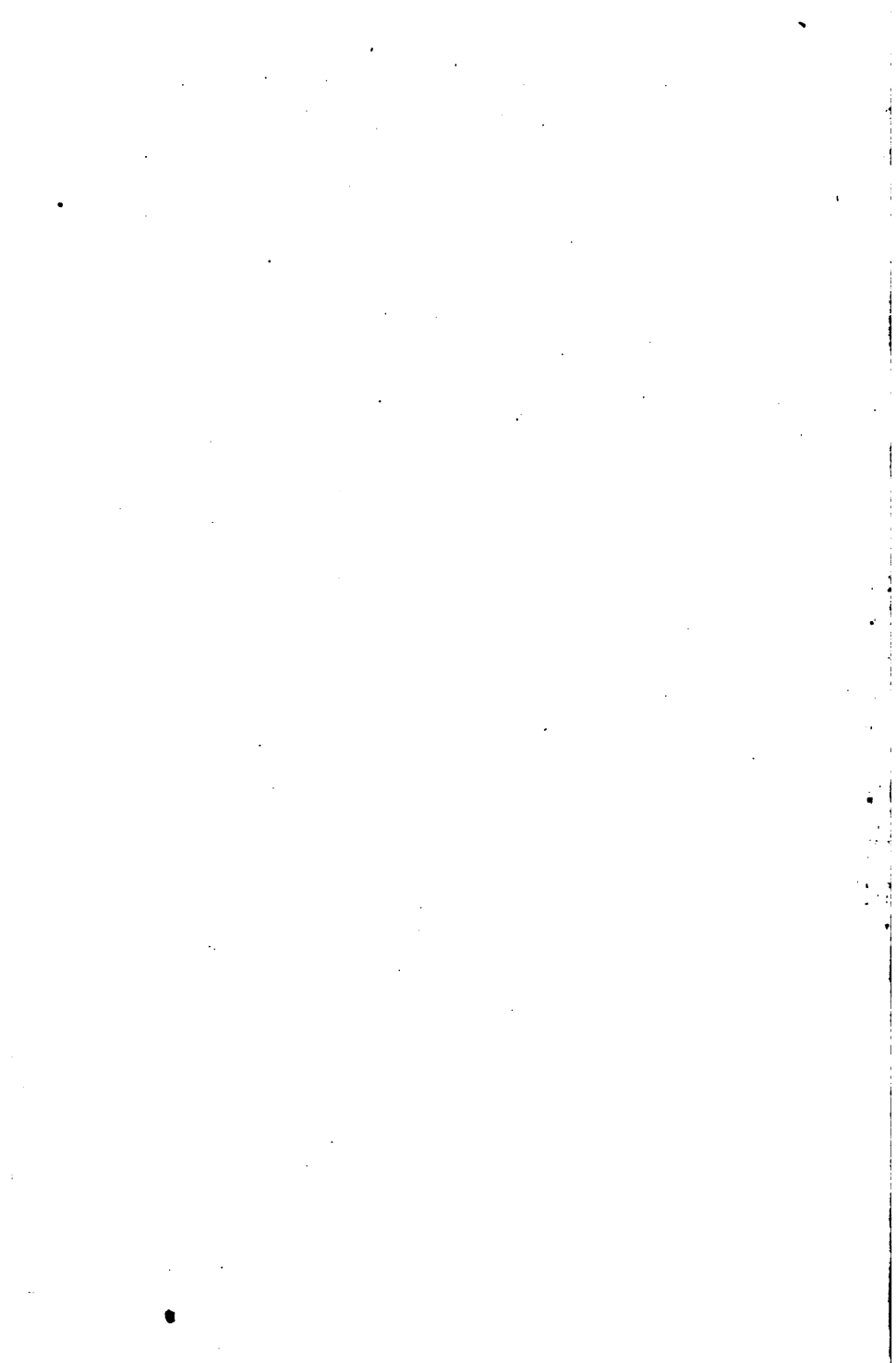
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ECONOMIC TRACTS. No. XVII.

D.R. 3, 482
REFERENCES *bind*

TO THE

HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL
ADMINISTRATIONS

1789-1885 *11*



BY

W. E. FOSTER

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THE SOCIETY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION
31. PARK ROW
1885

The Society for Political Education.

(ORGANIZED 1880.)

OBJECTS.—The SOCIETY was organized by citizens who believe that the success of our government depends on the active political influence of educated intelligence, and that parties are means, not ends. It is entirely non-partisan in its organization, and is not to be used for any other purpose than the awakening of an intelligent interest in government methods and purposes, tending to restrain the abuse of parties and to promote party morality.

Among its organizers are numbered Democrats, Republicans, and Independents, who differ among themselves as to which party is best fitted to conduct the government; but who are in the main agreed as to the following propositions:

The right of each citizen to his free voice and vote must be upheld.

Office-holders must not control the suffrage.

The office should seek the man, and not the man the office.

Public service, in business positions, should depend solely on fitness and good behavior.

The crimes of bribery and corruption must be relentlessly punished.

Local issues should be independent of national parties.

Coins made unlimited legal tender must possess their face value as metal in the markets of the world.

Sound currency must have a metal basis, and

all paper-money must be convertible on demand.

Labor has a right to the highest wages it can earn, unhindered by public or private tyranny.

Trade has a right to the freest scope, unfettered by taxes, except for government expenses.

Corporations must be restricted from abuse of privilege.

Neither the public money nor the people's land must be used to subsidize private enterprise.

A public opinion, wholesome and active, unhampered by machine control, is the true safeguard of popular institutions.

Persons who become members of the Society are not, however, required to endorse the above.

METHODS.—The Society proposes to carry out its objects by submitting from time to time to its members lists of books which it regards as desirable reading on current political and economic questions; by selecting annual courses of reading for its members; by supplying the books so selected at the smallest possible advance beyond actual cost; by furnishing and circulating at a low price, and in cheap form, sound economic and political literature in maintenance and illustration of the principles above announced as constituting the basis of its organization; and by assisting in the formation of reading and corresponding circles and clubs for discussing social, political, and economic questions.

ORGANIZATION.—The Society is managed by a General Committee, selected from different sections of the United States. The correspondence of the Society is divided among five Secretaries, one each for the East, the Northwest, the Southeast, the Southwest, and the Pacific Slope.

It is suggested that branch organizations be formed wherever it is possible (and especially in colleges) to carry out the intentions of the Society. Any person who will form a Club of ten persons, each of whom shall be an active member of this Society, will be entitled to a set of the tracts already issued.

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REFERENCES

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HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL
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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Society for Political Education has aimed not only to supply brief popular presentations of questions of the day, but also to guide readers to the fullest sources of information by issuing such tracts as No. II., the classified list of books on "Political Economy and Political Science." In accordance with this aim, it asked Mr. W. E. Foster to bring together and extend the References to the History of Presidential Administrations prepared by him for his *Monthly Reference Lists* (issued as a periodical, 1881-4, from the office of the *Publishers' Weekly*, No. 31 Park Row, New York), and the present tract is the result. It is believed that it will serve not only as a guide for study, but as in itself a brief presentation of United States political history, such as is not elsewhere to be found in compact and convenient shape.

R. R. B.

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REFERENCES

TO THE

HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS, 1789-1885.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATIONS,

[1789-1797.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents.*

Washington's messages and other state papers are printed in the **American state papers**.

* Also in the **Annals of Congress** (1st to 4th Congress).

* Also **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 1.

Also in **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 1, pp. 31-78.

Also in v. 12 of the **Writings of George Washington**, edited by **Jared Sparks**.

NOTE.—The House Journals, the Senate Journals, and the Statutes at Large, are also to be consulted for the whole period, 1789-97.

B. *General accounts.*

The history of the period is traversed by the following more general histories :

Hildreth's History of the United States, v. 4.

Tucker's History of the United States, v. 1.

Schouler's History of the United States, v. 1, chap. 2, 3.

Bryant and Gay's Popular history of the United States, v. 4.

McMaster's History of the people of the United States, from the revolution to the civil war, v. 1, chap. 6.

NOTE.—Hildreth's point of view is that of a Federalist. Mr. Schouler, publishing his first volume in 1880, writes: "While confirming Mr. Hildreth's accuracy in general details, I am constrained to differ from him in many particulars, and most widely as to estimates of our political leaders and their motives." "Tucker's work," says Professor C. K. Adams, "is the most able and candid presentation from a Southern point of view." Mr. Gay's account is of great value as a "popular history" rather than as furnishing materials for a scholar. Mr. McMaster, as indicated in the title of his work, "dwells on the dress, the occupations, the amusements, the literary canons of the times," "the change of manners and morals," rather than the political development.

* NOTE.—The asterisk * is used to designate such books and other matter referred to as may not be so universally accessible and familiar to readers in general as the others cited.

2 References to the History of Presidential Administrations.

C. Political and constitutional histories.

* **Gibbs's Memoirs of the administrations of Washington and Adams** (based on the papers of Oliver Wolcott), v. 1, chap. 1-12.

* **Bradford's History of federal government, 1789-1839.**

* **Sullivan's Familiar letters on public characters and public events, 1783-1815.**

* **Pitkin's Political and Civil history of the United States, v. 2, chap. 20-25.**

* **J. C. Hamilton's History of the Republic of the United States, as traced in the writings of Alexander Hamilton and his contemporaries, v. 4, 5.**

* **Van Buren's Inquiries into the origin and course of political parties in the United States, chap. 2-5.**

* **Ormsby's History of the Whig party, chap. 3-5.**

H. von Holst's Constitutional and political history of the United States, v. 1, chap. 3.

Sterne's Constitutional history and political development of the United States.

Porter's Outlines of the constitutional history of the United States.

* **Jennings's Eighty years of republican government in the United States.**

Johnston's History of American politics, chap. 2, 3.

Young's American statesman, chap. 5-11.

Williams's Statesman's manual, v. 1, pp. 79-94.

NOTE.—Hamilton, Gibbs, Bradford, Sullivan, and Pitkin wrote from the Federalist point of view. All but Hamilton and Gibbs were contemporaries of Washington, and Wolcott was his second Secretary of the Treasury. Hamilton was the son of Alexander Hamilton, Washington's first Secretary of the Treasury. Van Buren and Ormsby, both writing since 1850, belonged respectively to the Democratic party and the Whig party, and their party affiliation very noticeably tinges their treatment of the subject. Dr. von Holst, a German student of history, has approached the subject solely in the line of historical criticism. The work of Johnston, though by an American citizen, is strikingly successful in presenting an "absolutely colorless narrative" (to quote *The Nation*, v. 30, p. 32), so far as regards partisan treatment. Sterne's work (only a few pages of which, pp. 147-56, are devoted to Washington's administrations), is a philosophic discussion of the political history, by a writer whose sympathies are not with the tendency to centralization. Jennings's work is of less importance. Porter's work is very condensed in form. The works of Young and Williams have little value except as compilations of official documents and annals.

D. Other discussions of political development.

See **Professor W. G. Sumner's article on Politics in the United States, 1776-1876**, in the *North American Review*, Jan. 1876, v. 122, pp. 52-60.

* Also the careful discussion of **Taxation in the United States, 1789-1816**, by **Henry Carter Adams**, published as Nos. 5-6 of the second series of the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science."

* Also the article by **J. M. Mackie**, on **The administration of Washington**. *American Whig Review*, July, 1849, v. 10, pp. 1-28.

References to the History of Presidential Administrations. 3

Also the article by **W. A. Duer** (in review of **Gibbs's Memoirs**). *North American Review*, Jan., 1847, v. 64, pp. 161-78.

Also the article on **The administrations of Washington and Adams**, by **W. Green**. *Christian Review*, 1857, v. 17, pp. 237-45.

See also the **History of presidential elections**. By **Edward Stanwood** (1884), pp. 8-23.

NOTE.—Houghton's "Conspectus of the History of Political Parties" exhibits in the form of an ingeniously arranged chart the successive changes and modifications in American political history. This is also shown in plate No. 6 of "Scribner's Statistical Atlas of the United States," 1885.

E. *Biographies of Washington, treating of his presidency.*

Marshall's account (1805) is in the 5th volume of his **Life of Washington**, and is the record of a contemporary.

Sparks's account (1837) is much briefer (chaps. 16-19 of his **Life of Washington**).

Everett's account (1860) was written for English readers, and first appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Irving's account (1859) forms nearly the whole of the 5th volume of his **Life of Washington**, and is one of the fullest and most serviceable accounts.

* See also the **Lives**, by **A. Bancroft**, **Lossing**, **Ramsay**, **Custis**, **Rush**, **Abbott**, and **Paulding**.

NOTE.—See also the list of references on Washington, in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, Feb., 1881, 2, 5, 7. The bibliography of the subject is very voluminous. See the 2 octavo volumes of "Washingtoniana," with bibliographical list, edited by **F. B. Hough**, 1865.

The principles of his administration are also treated with considerable critical power by **Theodore Parker**, in his **Historic Americans** (1858), pp. 110-21.

Compare also an excellent address by **Dr. James Freeman Clarke** (delivered in 1875), reprinted in his volume, **Memorial and biographical sketches**, pp. 283-300.

* See also the oration by **Robert C. Winthrop**, at the dedication of the Washington monument, Feb. 21, 1885.

Washington's own correspondence for this period is in his **Works**, v. 10-12.

F. *Biographies of Washington's contemporaries.*

a. *Federalists.*

The Vice-President, **John Adams**, has left on record in his correspondence (**Works**, v. 8), piquant comments on current events. Compare also his **Life**, by **Charles Francis Adams**, prefixed to **the Works** (v. 1, chap. 9). Also the volume on **John Adams**, by **John T. Morse, Jr.**, 1884 ("American statesmen" series).

Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was a most potent factor in the constructive processes of Washington's administration. See particularly the **Life**, in 2 volumes, by **John T. Morse, Jr.** (published 1876); and also the brilliant and suggestive volume on **Alexander Hamilton**, by **Henry Cabot Lodge**, in the series, "American statesmen."

4 *References to the History of Presidential Administrations.*

NOTE.—Mr. Morse's disclaimer, in *The Nation* of Feb. 12, 1885, v. 40, p. 137, should be noted in connection with his "Life of Hamilton."

A new edition of Hamilton's "Works," in 9 volumes, edited, with important annotations, by Henry Cabot Lodge, is just published (1885).

* Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State during Washington's second administration, left important papers which have been embodied in the *Life of Timothy Pickering*, by Octavius Pickering and Charles W. Upham. (4 volumes, 1873.)

* See also the *Life of John Jay* (Chief-Justice), by his son, William Jay.

* *Sparks's Life of Gouverneur Morris* (Minister to France, 1792-94); and * *Austin's Life of Elbridge Gerry* (Federalist member of Congress from Massachusetts, 1789-93, though afterwards acting as a Democrat), are also of value.

* Compare also the *Works of Fisher Ames*, edited by his son.

b. Democratic-Republicans.

Thomas Jefferson, Washington's First Secretary of State, has left an indelible impression on this period. See his *Life*, by Randall (1857).

Also that by Parton (1874). The latter has a very life-like chapter on *The Cabinet of President Washington* (chap. 42; printed also with chaps. 43, 44, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 31, pp. 29-44).

See also the volume on *Thomas Jefferson*, chap. 8-II, recently published in the "American statesmen" series, written by Mr. Morse, the editor of the series.

James Madison's Life, v. 3., by W. C. Rives; *James Madison*, by Sydney H. Gay; and *James Monroe*, by Pres. D. C. Gilman (the two latter in the series, "American statesmen"), throw abundant light on Virginia statesmanship at this time.

NOTE.—The latter volume contains an exceedingly valuable "Bibliography of Monroe and the Monroe doctrine," by J. F. Jameson, covering 28 pages.

Important light is also thrown upon this period by the biographies of the three following men (at that time in Congress):

See also *Andrew Jackson*, by Professor W. G. Sumner ("American statesmen" series); compare also Parton's *Andrew Jackson*.

Life of Aaron Burr. By James Parton.

Life of Albert Gallatin. By Henry Adams.

Also *Albert Gallatin*. By John Austin Stevens ("American statesmen" series).

G. The diplomatic history.

See *Trescott's Diplomatic history of the administrations of Washington and Adams*.

* *Lyman's Diplomacy of the United States*, v. 1.

The official documents are in the *American state papers; Foreign relations*, v. 2.

* See also the *State papers and public documents*, v. 1-4.

For the text of the treaty negotiated during this administration (Jay's treaty with England), Nov. 19, 1794, see the volume, *Treaties and conventions of*

References to the History of Presidential Administrations. 5

the United States, pp. 318-32. The literature of this subject, which is very extensive, may be studied in the very full list of references to authorities (by Alexander Johnston) in Lalor's *Cyclopædia of Political Science*, v. 2, p. 638.

* Monroe's mission to France in 1796 may be studied in his pamphlet, **A View of the conduct of the Executive**. For other references see Jameson's bibliography, pp. 258-62 (in *Gilman's James Monroe*).

* Compare also **Jay's Life of John Jay**.

* **Sparks's Gouverneur Morris**.

NOTE.—For bibliographical material covering the period of these and following administrations, see Dr. A. B. Hart's (printed) "Outline of the Course in Constitutional and Political History of the United States at Harvard College," 1863-4, and 1884-5; Professor J. T. Short's "Historical Reference Lists" (Columbus, O., 1882), pp. 63-96; Professor W. F. Allen's "History Topics" (Boston, 1883), pp. 109-10; Professor C. K. Adams's "Manual of Historical Literature" (New York, 1882) pp. 610-30; and the lists under the various headings in Lalor's "Cyclopædia of Political Science" (Chicago, 1884, 3 vols.).

JOHN ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

[1797-1801.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents.*

The messages and state papers are to be found in the **American state papers, foreign affairs**, v. 2, **Finance**, v. 1, etc.

In the **Annals of Congress**, 5th to 8th Congress.

In **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 2.

In **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 1.

Also in the **Works of John Adams**, v. 9, pp. 150-67.

NOTE.—Besides the complete works of John Adams, thus referred to, the reader will also find useful during the first fifty years of the republic the collected writings of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Jay, and others.

B. *General accounts.*

These four years may be studied in the following works :

Hildreth's History of the United States, v. 5, pp. 1-418.

* **Tucker's History of the United States**, v. 2.

Schouler's History of the United States, v. 1, pp. 341-501.

Bryant and Gay's Popular history of the United States, v. 4.

NOTE.—For the characteristics of these works, see the corresponding "note" under Washington's administration. It may be added that both Hildreth and Schouler, while giving full prominence to the mistakes of Adams's career, admit the general purity of his intentions. "His excitable temperament was qualified," says Hildreth, "by a vigorous judgment, penetrating and prompt" (v. 5, p. 385). "Whimsical and strong-headed as Adams might be," says Schouler, "he was, apart from his peculiar foibles, consistent, just, and upright."

C. *Political reviews of this administration.*

The most comprehensive work is that of **Gibbs's Memoirs of the administrations of Washington and Adams** (based on the papers of Oliver Wolcott, the Secretary of the Treasury), v. 2 of which covers this period.

6 References to the History of Presidential Administrations.

* The most virulently unfavorable account is the **History of the administration of John Adams**, by **John Wood**, printed in 1802, suppressed in that year, and reprinted, with notes, in 1845; also his * **Correct statement of the sources of the history**.

NOTE.—“Both of these works,” says Alexander Johnston, “are entirely untrustworthy.” Lator’s “Cyclopædia of Political Science,” v. 1, p. 24.

The period is treated in **H. von Holst’s Constitutional and political history of the United States**, v. 1, chap. 4; **Johnston’s History of American politics**, chap. 4; **Young’s American statesman**, chap. 12-13; **Porter’s Outlines of the constitutional history of the United States**, and **Williams’s Statesman’s manual**, v. 1, pp. 129-38.

The works of **Van Buren** and **Ormsby** also (already cited in the Washington list), are interesting, if the writer’s point of view be considered.

A not unprejudiced narrator is **John C. Hamilton**, who, in his **History of the republic**, v. 6-7, throws important light on one side of the factional strife in the Federalist party.

NOTE.—See, as above, the “note” in the Washington list, for the characteristics of these writers.

On the Alien and Sedition laws, see **Schouler** (v. 1, pp. 394-96), who indicates the strikingly able opposition to them under the leadership of Gallatin and others. Compare also the forcibly written narrative of **Mr. Henry Adams**, in his **Life of Albert Gallatin**, one of the most valuable political biographies of this period.

On the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, see **H. von Holst’s Constitutional history**, v. 1, pp. 143-50; **Jefferson’s Works**, v. 7, p. 230, v. 9, pp. 464-71; also the full text of **Madison’s report**, and the answers of the states, in **Elliot’s Debates**, v. 4, pp. 528-80.

See also **Cooley’s** edition of **Story’s Commentaries**, Sec. 1289; **Gay’s James Madison**, chap. 15; **A. H. Stephens’s Constitutional views of the war between the states**, v. 1., 441; also the very valuable citation of U. S. Supreme Court decisions, etc., in **Hart’s Outline**, 1884-85, pp. 24-25.

On Adams’s candidacy in 1796 and 1800, see **Stanwood’s History of presidential elections**, pp. 25-44.

D. *Biographical accounts of Adams, covering his presidency.*

The authoritative work is the **Life of John Adams**; begun by **John Quincy Adams**, completed by **Charles Francis Adams**. 2 vols., 1871. This at first appeared (in one volume) as the opening volume of the **Works of John Adams** (10 volumes), 1856.

“He has thought it unnecessary,” for any thing contained in the historical and biographical works published during this interval, “to alter a single word in the biography of his grandfather.”—*The Nation*, April 27, 1871, v. 12, p. 293.

In 1827 was published a **Memoir of the life, character, and writings of John Adams**, by **William Cranch** (his nephew).

Several other commemorative discourses are cited by **S. G. Drake**, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April, 1857, v. 11, pp. 97-100.

Mr. Edmund Quincy (*North American Review*, July, 1871, v. 113, p.

References to the History of Presidential Administrations. 7

187), vigorously combats the prediction of the *Athenæum* (London), that "the American world will in time forget Adams."

In 1884, **Judge Mellen Chamberlain**, of Boston, delivered before the Webster Historical Society, an important address on **John Adams, the Statesman of the American Revolution**, in which, however, the period of his presidency is not considered. In the same year also appeared **Mr. John T. Morse, Jr.**'s, interesting volume on **John Adams**. ("American statesmen" series.)

There is a very striking characterization of him in **Theodore Parker's Historic Americans**, pp. 147-259. "In his administration," says Parker, "certain things indicate the soundest of human judgments. But he lacked method in his intellectual processes."

E. Biographies of President Adams' contemporaries.

Among members of his own cabinet, the testimonies of Pickering and Marshall (Secretaries of State); Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury; and Cabot, Secretary of the Navy, are particularly significant. Marshall's life, up to 1885, had nowhere been treated at fuller length than in **Flanders's Lives of the Chief-Justices**, v. 2. (He was appointed Chief-Justice in 1801.) In 1885, however, appeared **Mr. A. B. Magruder's** volume, **John Marshall**. ("American statesmen" series.) Aside from Marshall, there was but little sympathy between the members of the cabinet and the president. See **Gibbs's Memoirs of Wolcott**; **Lodge's Life of George Cabot**; and the voluminous **Life of Timothy Pickering**, by **Octavius Pickering** and **Charles W. Upham**, in 4 vols. See also **Ames's Works of Fisher Ames**, with Life.

The volume entitled **Documents relating to New England federalism**, edited by Henry Adams (1877), throws important light on the factions of the Federalist party at this time and for the next fifteen years.

NOTE.—The "Correspondence of John Adams and William Cunningham," though covering a period subsequent to Adams's administration, should be consulted in this connection.

The head and front of the opposing faction was, of course, Alexander Hamilton.

See **Lodge's** volume on **Hamilton** (in the "American statesmen" series); also **Morse's Life**, in 2 vols.; also **J. C. Hamilton's Life**, in 2 vols.

"We are very far from holding Mr. Adams solely responsible for the downfall of the Federalists, but his treatment of Hamilton, tried merely by the test of statesmanship and good politics, shows," says Lodge (p. 231), how he became "a principal cause in the ruin of the party."

Compare also the Lives of Jay and Morris, cited in the Washington list.

Abundant light is also thrown upon Mr. Adams's administration by the political biography of the opposite party (Democratic-Republican).

See the Lives of Madison, Monroe, Gallatin, Jackson, Burr, and Gerry, already cited in the Washington list. See also **Campbell's De Witt Clinton**. Also **Adams's John Randolph** ("American statesmen" series), pp. 40-47.

But see particularly the career of Thomas Jefferson, at this time serving as Vice-President, and supported as the successful candidate for the presidency in 1800. See his **Life**, by **Randall** and by **Parton**, also the volume on **Jefferson** (chap. 12), by **John T. Morse, Jr.** (in the "American statesmen" series).

8 References to the History of Presidential Administrations.

"He saw plainly," says Morse (pp. 176-77), "that Hamilton was no longer to hold supreme control over a united party, and Hamilton was the only man among the Federalists whom he really feared."

For important light on the action of the Federalists in giving their votes to Burr in the presidential election of 1800, see **Schouler's United States**, v. 1, pp. 480-88.

NOTE.—Mr. C. F. Adams's comment ("Life of John Adams," ed. 1856, p. 595) is: "The Federal members took a course, success in which would have proved a misfortune, and wherein failure sunk them forever in the public esteem." Compare also the article by Mr. L. Sabine, in the *North American Review*, July, 1857, v. 85, pp. 1-39. "Why did the Federal members of Congress seek to defeat the popular will?" says Mr. Sabine (p. 37). "In moral intent, as appears by the records of Congress, and beyond all dispute by the correspondence of the period, the Federal party, by their authorized exponents, are answerable" for Burr's advancement.

F. Diplomatic history.

See, as under the Washington list of references, the works of **Trescott and Lyman**, and the **American state papers**; **Foreign relations**, Folio v. 2.

Compare also **Austin's Life of Gerry**, and the **Lives of Jay and C. C. Pinckney**.

The incident of the appointment of Murray, in 1799, is detailed in **Hildreth**, v. 5, pp. 284-92.

Compare, for allusions to Talleyrand's connection with it, the **Pamphleteer**, v. 4.

The treaty with France, of Sept. 30, 1800, is in the **Treaties and conventions**, pp. 266-75.

G. Social features.

See the **Letters of John and Abigail Adams**.

The new seat of government at Washington is described very vividly by **Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Smith**, and others, in letters written in 1800. *Harper's Magazine*, v. 40, pp. 186-87.

Compare also the article on **The capitol at Washington**, by **Ben: Perley Poore**, in *The Century*, April, 1883, v. 25, pp. 804-6.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

[1801-1809.]

A. Official records and contemporary documents.

The messages and State papers are to be found in the **American state papers**.

* In the **Annals of Congress**, 7th to 11th Congress.

* In **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 2-4.

* In **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 1, pp. 149-218.

Also in the **Writings of Thomas Jefferson**, v. 8, pp. 1-112.

References to the History of Presidential Administrations. 9

B. General accounts.

These eight years occupy the whole of v. 5 of **Hildreth's History of the United States**.

See also **Schouler's History of the United States**, v. 2, pp. 1-278.

The history is told from Jefferson's own point of view, in **Tucker's History of the United States**, v. 2, pp. 144-348.

The best popular account is that in **Bryant and Gay's United States**, v. 4, pp. 143-70.

C. Political reviews of this period.

One of the most favorable reviews of this period is that of **Mr. Tucker**, in his **History of the United States**, above cited.

* See also **Van Buren's Political parties**.

Dr. von Holst's Constitutional history does not devote much space to his administration, and nowhere expresses admiration for his career.

A suggestive view of the subject is found in **Cornelis De Witt's Jefferson and the American democracy**.

* See also **Bradford's History of federal government** (pp. 119-68), in which a Federalist view is presented.

Strongly prejudiced Federalist views are also found in **Sullivan's Familiar letters**, pp. 157-250; and * **Dwight's Character of Thomas Jefferson**.

Letters of the Federalist leaders between 1800 and 1810 are printed in **Adams's Documents relating to New England Federalism**, pp. 331-81.

See also the works of **Johnson, Young, Williams, * J. C. Hamilton**, and * **Ormsby**, cited in the Washington list.

On Burr's projects, see the Lives of him by **Davis and Parton**.

* The report of Burr's trial for treason in 1807 was published in two volumes in 1808.

The technical failure of this trial was the occasion of some needed legislation defining treason. See President Jefferson's message of Oct. 27, 1807 (**Writings**, v. 8, pp. 87-88).

D. Biographies of Jefferson.

The earliest of these was by **Tucker**, in 2 volumes, 1837.

* See also those of **Lynn, Rayner**, and **Garland**, published about the same time.

That of **Randall** (3 vols., 1857), is the most exhaustive.

"It is chiefly in the documentary material," says Professor C. K. Adams, "that the real importance of the volumes consists."

In 1874 was published the **Life of Thomas Jefferson**, by **James Parton**, portions of which had already appeared in the pages of the **Atlantic Monthly**.

"This," says Mr. C. C. Smith, in *Old and New*, v. 9, p. 749, "is lively reading, but it is neither biography nor history." "Black and white," he declares, are "the only colors on Mr. Parton's palette."

The latest study of his career is that by **John T. Morse, Jr.** (in the "American statesman" series, 1883).

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"In his day," says Mr. Morse, "it was still a question how poverty and ignorance would behave in politics, and it was his firm expectation that they would behave with modesty and self-abnegation," p. 130.

"In comparison with the common run of biographies, the subject stands out like a portrait by a master beside a colored photograph."—*The Nation*, May 24, 1883, p. 449.

Mr. M. W. Fuller, in a review of Mr. Morse's work in *The Dial*, May, 1883, p. 5, remarks: "Chief-Justice Marshall ranked Hamilton next to Washington, but the admirers of Thomas Jefferson have not concurred in that judgment."

See also the chapter on Jefferson, in **Parker's Historic Americans**. See also **Lord Brougham's** sketch of Jefferson, in his **Statesmen of the time of George III. and George IV.**

E. Biographies of Jefferson's contemporaries.

Of the members of his cabinet, Madison and Gallatin were the most eminent.

NOTE.—Rives's valuable "Life of James Madison" does not come down to a date later than 1797; but the volume on Madison by Mr. Sydney H. Gay in the "American statesmen" series is an intelligent survey of his entire career.

See **Henry Adams's Life of Albert Gallatin**, in which the suggestive remark is made that "What Hamilton was to Washington, Gallatin was to Jefferson, with only such difference as circumstances required" (p. 268).

See also the Lives of Burr, Gerry, Clinton, and Jackson, cited under the previous administrations.

John Randolph's extraordinary performances in Congress during this administration are forcibly outlined in **Henry Adams's** volume, **John Randolph** ("American statesmen" series).

[For an account of the short-lived opposition party led by him, see pp. 181-90.]

But important light is thrown upon this administration in the biographies of men on the opposite side in politics.

See, for instance, **John Quincy Adams's Memoirs**.

Also, the volume on **John Quincy Adams**, by **John T. Morse, Jr.** ("American statesmen" series).

Yet Mr. Adams during the last year of this administration changed his political relations, on the occasion of the embargo discussion.

A very entertaining volume, also, is the **Life of Josiah Quincy**, by his son, **Edmund Quincy** (chap. 4-8).

* **Timothy Pickering's Life**, by **Pickering and Upham** (v. 4, chap. 2-5); and **Lodge's Life of George Cabot**, show the feeling against Jefferson on the part of the Federalists.

NOTE.—Alexander Hamilton's life was terminated in his duel with Burr in President Jefferson's fourth year, but his public life had closed in 1800. John Adams also was now living in retirement.

F. Financial and economic history.

See **Bolles's Financial history of the United States** (v. 2, 1789-1860), pp. 203-16.

Also **Adams's Life of Albert Gallatin** (Secretary of the Treasury); also **Gallatin's Life** by **Stevens**.

Compare also **Hildreth's United States**, v. 5, 653-61.

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There is also an interesting examination of Gallatin's financial policy, in **H. C. Adams's Taxation in the United States** (Johns Hopkins University Studies), 2d series, Nos. 5, 6, pp. 57-68.

"Gallatin," says Mr. Adams, "possessed the financial sense in a higher degree than Wolcott. The error of the latter as a financier seems to have been that he failed to recognize the necessity for fitting his system of taxation to the actual conditions about him" (p. 67).

On the embargo bill, passed Nov. 21, 1807, see **Morse's John Quincy Adams**, pp. 52-57.

Also **Morse's Thomas Jefferson**. Mr. Morse says: "He knew his policy to have failed, yet could not abandon it" (p. 315).

See the article on the "Embargo" in **Lalor's Cyclopædia of political science**, v. 2.

In **Taussig's Protection to young industries**, pp. 21-22 (and elsewhere in the book), the effects of the embargo on the developing industry of the United States are traced.

On the embargo, see also **Schouler's United States**, v. 2, pp. 138-63. See also the debates in Congress, as given in **Benton's Abridgment**, v. 3, pp. 640-41. See also **Gay's Life of Madison**.

G. Diplomatic history.

See the **American state papers**; **Foreign relations** (folio), v. 2, 3; also **Public lands**.

* Also **Lyman's Diplomacy of the United States**.

The text of the treaties between this country and France, 1800 and 1803, in relation to Louisiana, is given in **Treaties and conventions**, pp. 266-86.

James Monroe, during the most of this period, served as minister to France, to Spain, and to England.

See **Gilman's volume on James Monroe** ("American statesmen" series), chap. 3-4.

NOTE.—Mr. J. F. Jameson's bibliography, appended to President Gilman's volume, gives nearly five pages of references to this period, comprising the Louisiana purchase.

Mr. Morse's comment on the Louisiana purchase is that Jefferson thus accomplished "a most momentous transaction in direct contravention of all those grand principles which for many years he had been eloquently preaching." "He preferred sound sense to sound logic" (pp. 251, 255).

NOTE.—One phrase of the Louisiana matter,—the question whether the Rocky Mountains or the Pacific Ocean formed its western limit,—has been very widely in dispute. See the list of references under "Oregon," in the *Magazine of American History*, v. 7, pp. 461-62. Also "Oregon," by Rev. William Barrows, pp. 205-23. The question was reopened in *The Nation*, March 15, March 22, March 29, and April 12, 1883, by Messrs. Walker, Gannett, Mowry, and Allen (pp. 231, 255, 273, 318). See also the chapters on this subject in v. 2, of H. H. Bancroft's "History of the Pacific coast."

See also the article, "Northwest boundary," in **Lalor's Cyclopædia**, v. 2, p. 1046, in which the position is taken (by Professor Alexander Johnston), that Oregon was not included.

It is of interest to notice that the northern and western limits of the tract were purposely left vague by French geographers. See the letter (written Jan. 8, 1715) printed in the *Historical Magazine*, v. 3, p. 231.

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When, however, the negotiations between the United States and Spain (resulting in the treaty of that year, finally pushing the United States boundary to its western limit) were in progress in 1819, the American negotiator, John Quincy Adams, made in his diary (Feb. 22, 1819, the day of signing the treaty) this record: "The acknowledgment of a definite line of boundary to the South Sea forms a great epoch in our history. The first proposal of it in this negotiation was my own, and I trust it is now secured beyond the reach of revocation. It was not even among our claims by the Treaty of Independence with Great Britain. *It was not among our pretensions under the purchase of Louisiana—for that gave us only the range of the Mississippi and its waters.*" (*Adams's Memoirs*, v. 4, p. 275.)

In the **Statistical atlas of the United States** (by Gen. Francis A. Walker), based on the census of 1870, the Oregon tract is included in the Louisiana purchase.

In that of 1885, based on the census of 1880 (by F. W. Hewes and H. Gannett), the Oregon tract is thus designated (plate 14): "Acquired by occupation, following the French cession of Louisiana."

In the text, moreover, of the same work (p. 34), the statement is made that "while the country now comprised in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho was *not included in the Louisiana purchase*, it was in direct consequence of that purchase that the United States assumed jurisdiction over this territory on the Pacific coast between the 42d and 49th parallels."

H. Social features.

Jefferson's own **Domestic life**, by his grand-daughter, Mrs. Randolph, and the volume on * **Jefferson at Monticello**, by Rev. H. W. Pierson.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

[1809-1817.]

A. Official records and contemporary documents.

The messages and state papers are to be found in the **American state papers**; **Foreign relations**, v. 3-4; **Finance**, v. 2-3; **Military affairs**, v. 1; **Naval affairs**, v. 1; **Public lands**, v. 1; **Claims**; **Miscellaneous**, v. 2.

In the **Annals of Congress**, 11th to 14th Congresses.

* In **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 4-5.

In **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 1, pp. 267-340.

NOTE.—In Sept., 1811, was begun the publication of (Niles's) *Weekly Register* (afterwards *Niles's Register*), an invaluable depository of documents and official information, as well as of less special material.

B. General accounts.

These eight years occupy the first part of volume 6 of **Hildreth's History of the United States**, v. 6, pp. 1-618.

See also **Schouler's History of the United States**, v. 2, ch. 8-9.

Also **Tucker's**, and **Bryant and Gay's** works, cited in the previous numbers of these references.

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C. Political reviews of this period.

These two presidential elections, at which Madison was the successful candidate, are considered in **Stanwood's History of presidential elections**, pp. 51-63.

Madison's administration is accurately described in the volume entitled **The lives of Madison and Monroe**, pp. 106-96.

See also **Van Buren's Political parties**, chs. 5 and 6.

See also the works of **Dr. von Holst**, **Ormsby**, **Bradford**, and **Sullivan**, already cited in previous lists.

There is a brief summary of Madison's administration in **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 1, pp. 341-82; and also in **Cooper's American politics**.

A much more valuable account, though brief, is in **Johnston's History of American politics**, chap. 7-8.

See also **Porter's Outlines of the constitutional history of the United States**. As regards the party name, "Democrat," he says: "In Madison's first four years it had gained a strong foothold, and now (1812) was so generally used as to supersede Republican. Henceforth we shall style the party Democratic." (p. 233.)

The noteworthy political event of this administration was the final extinction of the Federalist party. See **Adams's Documents relating to New England Federalism**, 1800-15.

Edmund Quincy's Life of Josiah Quincy, ch. 11.

* Also **Dwight's History of the Hartford convention**.

Also **Lodge's Life of George Cabot** (president of the convention).

Other works throwing light on the feeling in New England during the war are **Channing's Life of W. E. Channing**, and **Goodrich's Recollections of a life-time**.

D. Biographies of Madison.

Most unfortunately, **Rives's History of the life and times of James Madison**, a more than usually elaborate biography, stops, (with the third volume), at 1797, and of course throws no light on his administrations.

This work Mr. Bancroft in 1865 pronounced "The most valuable contribution to the history of the country that has been made in my day." Mr. Gay, on the contrary, in his recent entertaining volume on "James Madison" (1884), refers to it as "the stately—not to say stilted—biography of him by William C. Rives."

Madison left no autobiography; but the **Madison papers** contain his **Correspondence**, and other important documents.

NOTE.—The *Quarterly Review*, in the course of a very judicious review of Rives's work, in 1878, remarked: "Throughout our study of Madison, we cannot avoid a feeling that the man is less than his work." "Madison and Franklin, like Pym and Hampden, beyond doubt possessed great powers of action, but it was not this which raised them so high above the common run of men. Their true greatness lay in their insight into public opinion, their calm self-restraint, above all in that public spirit and temperate love of freedom which formed part of their heritage as Englishmen."—*Quarterly Review*, v. 145, p. 497.

Mr. John Quincy Adams, in 1836, delivered in Boston an extended eu-

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logy on **The life and character of James Madison**. See also **The life of James Madison**, in the volume, **Lives of Madison and Monroe**.

NOTE.—The estimate formed of Mr. Madison's services has been steadily advancing within recent years. By no one has his agency in the formation of the government been so fully recognized as by Mr. Bancroft, in his recent "History of the formation of the Constitution of the United States."

In his volume, **James Madison**, however, published during 1884, in the series on "American statesmen," Mr. **Sydney H. Gay** has apparently taken pains not to err on the side of over-estimating Madison's position. "His title to fame," he says, "rests, with the multitude, upon the fact that he was one of the earlier presidents of the republic. But it is that period of his career which least entitles him to be remembered with gratitude and respect by his countrymen" (p. 328).

E. Biographies of President Madison's contemporaries.

The Life of James Monroe, Secretary of State throughout these entire eight years, has been recently published (written by **President D. C. Gilman**; "American statesmen" series).

Mr. Henry Adams's biography of Albert Gallatin (Secretary of the Treasury) declares that "Mr. Madison's administration wanted energy and force" (p. 459), and adds that at times the weight of government fell "almost wholly upon Mr. Monroe and Mr. Gallatin" (p. 462).

The life of William Pinkney (Attorney-General), has been written by his nephew (and namesake); and also by **Henry Wheaton**.

"The acknowledged leader of the opposition to New England Federalism" (**Adams's Manual of historical literature**, p. 579), was **Elbridge Gerry**. See his **Life**, by **J. T. Austin**, v. 2, ch. 10-11.

See also the **Lives of Randolph and Calhoun** ("American statesmen" series); and also **Parton's Life of Aaron Burr**.

On the Federalist side, see the lives of **Clay**, **Webster**, and **Pickering**.

NOTE.—**Webster's life**, by **Lodge**, represents him as never weary of praising "the prudence, the constructive wisdom, and the safe conservatism of the gentle Madison" (p. 349).

F. Diplomatic history.

John Quincy Adams, minister to Russia, 1809-14, and 1815-17, left abundant memoranda in his **Memoirs**.

* See also the **Life of William Pinkney** (who was minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain, 1807-11), by **William Wheaton**.

See also the **Life of James Monroe** (Secretary of State throughout Mr. Madison's two administrations), recently written by **President D. C. Gilman**.

Also the **American state papers**; **Foreign relations**, v. 3-4.

NOTE.—The **Monroe papers** existing in manuscript, in the library of the State Department at Washington, throw much light on this period.

G. Military history.

The Second war with Great Britain is described, in the work of that title, by **C. J. Ingersoll**.

"Valuable information collected from original sources."—*Alibone* "With all its faults, it is probably the best history of the war of 1812 yet produced."—*C. K. Adams*.

References to the History of Presidential Administrations. 15

Mr. Lossing's purpose, in the *Pictorial field-book of the war of 1812*, is different. The order of arrangement is topographical, and the book contains a very large amount of material of great interest.

An English view of the war is found in *Alison's History of Europe, 1789-1815*, which throws light on its relation to general European politics.

See also *James's Full and impartial account of the late war*, written from an English point of view.

Other features of the war may be studied in * *Williams's Invasion of Washington*, *Parton's Life of Jackson*, *Sumner's Life of Jackson*, *Cooper's History of the navy*, *Mackenzie's Life of Commodore Perry*, *Life of Commodore Decatur*, and *Cullom's Campaigns of the war of 1812*.

The naval operations are admirably recounted in *Roosevelt's Naval war of 1812*.

See also the *American state papers*; *Military affairs*, v. 1. Also *Naval affairs*, v. 1.

NOTE.—A graphic account of the vigorous temporary management of the war department by Mr. Monroe, at a time when great mismanagement had placed the country in danger, is found in Gilman's "James Monroe," pp. 106-24.

For the text of the treaty of Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814 (in termination of the war), see *Treaties and conventions*, pp. 338-44.

H. *Financial history.*

See *Bolles's Financial history of the United States*, pp. 212-300.

Also *H. C. Adams's Taxation in the United States, 1789-1816*.

On the impetus given to home manufactures by the war, see *Bishop's History of American manufactures*, v. 2, pp. 178-81; 187-88.

For the text of the tariff of 1816 (avowedly in protection of these home industries), see *Annals of Congress*, 14th Congress, 1st session, pp. 1870-76.

NOTE.—For other references on this subject, see the list on "Tariff Legislation in the United States," in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, Dec., 1882, v. 2, pp. 43, 45, 47, 49.

I. *Social features of this administration.*

John Randolph's Letters to a young relative.

See *Lossing's Field-book of the war of 1812*.

Schouler's United States, v. 2, pp. 268-78.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

[1817-1825.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents*

The messages and state papers are to be found in the *American state papers*; *Foreign relations*, v. 4-6; *Finance*, v. 3-4; *Military affairs*, v. 1-2; *Naval affairs*, v. 1-2; *Public lands*, v. 3-4.

* In the *Annals of Congress*, 15th to 18th Congress. Also *Gales and Seaton's Register of debates*, v. 1, pp. 1-742.

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* In **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 6-8.

In **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 1, pp. 396-496.

Niles's Weekly Register, v. 13-29.

B. *General accounts.*

These eight years may be studied in greatest detail in **Hildreth's History of the United States**, v. 6, pp. 620-713.

Also **J. Q. Adams's** account of Monroe's administration, in the volume of **Lives of Madison and Monroe**, pp. 297-432.

In **Seward's Life of John Quincy Adams** (p. 135), Monroe's administration is briefly reviewed, and is described as "a period of uninterrupted prosperity to the country."

See the article, **The administration of Monroe**, by **Joshua Leavitt**, *Harper's Magazine*, Sept., 1864, v. 29, p. 461.

See also **Young's American statesman**, ch. 20.

Also the works of **Tucker** and **Bryant and Gay**, cited in previous lists.

NOTE.—The presidential election of 1816 resulted in an electoral vote of 183 to 34, in favor of Monroe, while that of 1820 resulted in his reelection by a vote of 231 to 1. "Mr. Monroe," says Stanwood, "was elected by a vote which would have been absolutely unanimous, had not one elector of New Hampshire, deeming it due to the memory of Washington that no President after him should share in the honor of a unanimous election, given his vote for John Quincy Adams." (Stanwood's "History of presidential elections," p. 70.)

C. *Biographical accounts of Monroe.*

The most comprehensive work is that on **James Monroe**, by **President Daniel C. Gilman**, of Johns Hopkins University (in the "American statesmen" series).

NOTE.—To this work is annexed a "Bibliography of Monroe and of the Monroe doctrine," by Mr. J. F. Jameson, so comprehensive and exhaustive that any subsequent work of this kind must necessarily traverse a part of its ground.

An earlier and less satisfactory work is the volume entitled, **The Lives of James Madison and James Monroe**, comprising the **Eulogy on the life and character of James Monroe**, delivered at Boston, Aug. 25, 1831, by **John Quincy Adams** (also published separately).

* See also the work entitled **Lives of celebrated statesmen** (Madison, Lafayette, and Monroe).

Other less important biographical sketches are mentioned by Jameson in Gilman's "James Monroe," pp. 255-56.

D. *Biographies of Monroe's contemporaries.*

The **Memoirs of John Quincy Adams** (Secretary of State during these eight years) are particularly voluminous (v. 5 and 6 cover this period).

See also the **Lives of Adams by Quincy and Seward**.

Mr. Morse, in his volume on **John Quincy Adams** ("American statesmen" series), gives a very suggestive review of this period.

"Monroe's administration," says Mr. Morse, "has been christened the 'era of good feeling'; and, so far as political divisions among the people were concerned, this description is correct enough. But among individuals there was by no means a prevailing good

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feeling. Not held together by the pressure exerted by the antagonism of a strong hostile force, the prominent men of the cabinet and in Congress were busily employed in promoting their own individual interests" (p. 105-6).

On Crawford (Secretary of the Treasury) little has been published in separate form; but his political activity is abundantly manifest from the indirect allusions to him in other works (as in *Gilman's Monroe*, *Morse's John Quincy Adams*, *J. Q. Adams's Memoirs*, etc.).

See also *J. B. Cobb's Leisure labors*.

Calhoun (secretary of war) was at this time occupying a position diametrically opposite, (in economic theory) to that which he subsequently advocated. See *H. von Holst's John C. Calhoun*, ch. 3.

"In later years," says Dr. von Holst, "Calhoun would have given much if he could have torn these leaves from his book of record as a representative, and as Secretary of War." Advocating a policy of "internal improvements," and "consolidation of the Union," he pointed with satisfaction to what he was "soon so decisively to condemn as impolitic, unjust, dangerous to the independence of the States, and unconstitutional" (pp. 40-41).

William Wirt (Attorney-General) was at this time a distinguished ornament of the bar. His *Life*, by *Kennedy*, contains little of political interest (see ch. 3-9).

Mr. Clay was at this time Speaker of the House. See his *Life and speeches*, v. 1.

NOTE.—"His disappointment at not being appointed Secretary of State led him," says Mr. Morse, "to set himself assiduously to oppose and thwart the administration, and to make it unsuccessful and unpopular."—Morse's "John Quincy Adams," p. 107.

The volume on *Henry Clay*, by *Carl Schurz*, now in preparation ("American statesmen" series), will throw important light on this period.

For other works bearing on the politics of this administration, see *Webster's life*, by *Curtis*; *Gallatin's life*, by *Adams*; *Gallatin's life*, by *Stevens*; *John Randolph's life*, by *Adams*; *Jackson's life*, by *Sumner*. Also *Webster's life*, by *Lodge*. [The four last named are in the "American statesmen" series.]

E. Political history.

H. von Holst's Constitutional history devotes but little space to this administration (v. 1, ch. 9).

Benton's Thirty years' view (v. 1, p. 1-54) takes this period as its starting-point.

See also *Johnston's History of American politics*, ch. 9-10.

Also *Porter's Outlines of the constitutional history of the United States*, ch. 3.

Ormsby's History of the Whig party aims to show (pp. 135-72) how from this neutral period the Whig party was gradually developed.

Compare also the *Defence of the Whigs*, by *John P. Kennedy* (1844).

Volume 1 of the *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, lately published, throws light (ch. 6-15) on the re-arrangement of political parties in New York.

See, however, the review of this volume in *The Nation*, Sept. 13, 1863, v. 37, pp. 233-34, which points out "what an interesting and valuable volume Mr. Weed missed making."

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On the Missouri compromise (1820), see **H. von Holst's Constitutional history**, v. 1, ch. 9.

The debates on this question will be found in **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 6, pp. 334, 434, 450-54; v. 7, pp. 126-129.

For the connection of the question of admitting Maine with that of admitting Missouri, see **Williamson's History of Maine**, v. 2; **Wilson's Slave power**, v. 2, pp. 136-61.

NOTE.—A glance at the table showing the order of "Admission of the states," given at p. 289 of Johnston's "History of American politics" shows that in the case of the 8 states admitted to the Union during the years 1796-1820, the order was an exact alternation of a Southern with a Northern state.

The successive changes of outline through which the territory of Missouri had passed, between 1812 and 1820, may be studied from map 14 in **Scribner's Statistical atlas**, 1885. For the boundaries of the state of Missouri, as then organized, see **Lalor's Cyclopædia**, v. 2, p. 862.

For the text of the two successive compromises offered, see **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 6, pp. 451, 568; v. 7, p. 129.

Compare also the pamphlet, **The history of Mason's and Dixon's line**, by **J. H. B. Latrobe**.

NOTE.—For the bearing of the line thus established on the Kansas-Nebraska question of thirty-five years later, see the list of references, *post*, under "Pierce's administration."

See also **Wilson's Rise and fall of the slave power in America**, v. 1, pp. 135-64.

NOTE.—A letter of Thomas Jefferson, now for many years retired from public life, written April 22, 1820, contains a suggestive allusion to this discussion: "This momentous question," he says, "like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union."—Jefferson's writings, v. 7, p. 159.

See for further allusion to this matter the late **Alexander H. Stephens's Constitutional view of the late war between the states**.

F. *Diplomatic history.*

* **The American state papers; Foreign relations**, v. 4-6.

The **Memoirs of the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams**, are of constant service in this connection.

On the **Monroe doctrine**, see the citations in the **Monthly Reference Lists**, Dec. 1881, v. 1, pp. 45-47; and also the exhaustive list of authorities given under this head by **Mr. Jameson**, in **Gilman's James Monroe**, pp. 269-80.

NOTE.—This covers 12 pages, and is arranged under the following heads: (1) Its immediate origin; (2) Discussion of it in the chief treatises on international law; (3) In more special treatises and articles; (4) Occasions on which it has been applied.

See also **The Monroe doctrine**, by **George F. Tucker** (1885).

On the cession of Florida, in 1819, see **Sumner's Andrew Jackson**, ch. 3.

See also the opening chapter of **Sprague's Florida war**.

See also the chapters on the Indian wars in **Bryant and Gay's United States**, v. 3.

The text of the treaty is in the volume of **United States treaties and conventions**, pp. 785-95.

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For the important change in the territorial outline of the United States, resulting from this treaty, see map 14 in **Scribner's Statistical atlas**, 1885. Compare also **John Quincy Adams's Memoirs**, v. 4, p. 275.

On the relation of the Texas question, henceforward of increasing interest to the discussion of Spanish negotiations at this time, see **Dr. von Holst's Constitutional history**, v. 2, pp. 548-58. Compare also **John Quincy Adams's Memoirs**, v. 4, pp. 220-21.

During this period Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush were ministers of the United States at London. See **Adams's Life of Albert Gallatin**, and **Rush's Residence at the court of London**.

G. Financial and economic history.

The two tariff bills of 1816 and 1824 (both embodying increase of duties) being chiefly to the history of this administration. For the text of the bills see **Annals of Congress**, 14th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1870-76; also 18th Cong., 1st sess., v. 2, pp. 3221-27.

Compare also **Bishop's History of American manufactures**, v. 2: pp. 211-12, 225-29, 257-58; also for discussion of the subject, **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 5, pp. 628-43; v. 7, pp. 707-61.

For the respective positions of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun in relation to the question at this time, see **Clay's** speeches of March 30 and 31, 1824 (in his **Life and Speeches**, v. 1, pp. 440-82; **Webster's** argument on the other side, April 2, 1824 (in his **Works**, v. 3, pp. 94-149); and **H. von Holst's** remarks on Calhoun's protectionist position at this time, in his **John C. Calhoun**, pp. 32-37.

NOTE.—Webster's attitude towards this question was changed between 1824 and 1828, but in his address in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Oct. 2, 1820 (nowhere included in any published collection of Webster's speeches), he very forcibly stated the principle, "revenue essential, and protection incidental." For a report of this address, see the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 11, 1820.

H. Social features of this administration.

A letter, giving an account of the New Year's reception at the White House, in 1825, is printed in **Gilman's James Monroe**, pp. 182-84.

See also the chapter on **Washington society**, 1817-25, in **Sargent's** entertaining work, entitled **Public men and events**, 1817-53, v. 1, pp. 43-56.

* In the volume by **S. P. Waldo**, describing the **Tour of James Monroe**, in 1817, through most of the Northeastern States, is an account of the numerous receptions to the president.

The visit of Lafayette to the United States, 1824, is graphically described by the late **Josiah Quincy** (in his **Figures of the past**, pp. 101-56), and by **A. Levasseur**, Lafayette's secretary, in two volumes, published in 1829.

See also the article by **James Schouler**, on **Lafayette's tour in 1824**, *Magazine of American History*, Sept., 1883, v. 10, pp. 243-50

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JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

[1825-1829.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents.*

The messages and state papers are to be found in the **American state papers**; **Foreign relations**, v. 5-6; **Finance**, v. 5; **Military affairs**, v. 3; **Naval affairs**, v. 2-3; **Public lands**, v. 4.

* In **Gales and Seaton's Register of debates**, v. 1-6.

* In **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 8-9.

In **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 2, pp. 563-648.

* See also **Niles's Register**, v. 29-36.

B. *General accounts.*

See the **Popular history of the United States**, by **Bryant and Gay**, v. 3.

Also **Tucker's History of the United States**, v. 3.

Also **Bradford's History of federal government**.

Many illustrative facts and documents will also be found in the **American Annual Register**, 1825-29.

NOTE.—The period now entered upon is subsequent to that covered by the histories of Bancroft, McMaster, Hildreth, and Schouler. Volume 3 of the latter's "History of the United States under the Constitution," now under preparation, will begin with this administration.

There are brief accounts of this administration in **Young's American statesman**, ch. 25-37; also in **Lincoln's Lives of the presidents**, pp. 248-72; also by **Ben: Perley Poore**, in his **Reminiscences of Washington**, in the **Atlantic Monthly**, Jan., 1880, v. 45, pp. 53-66.

C. *Biographical account of Adams.*

The **Memoirs of Mr. Adams** himself, "Comprising portions of his diary," (edited by **Charles Francis Adams**), form the most comprehensive record of this period, v. 6-8.

Mr. Adams's Life has also been written in part by the late **William H. Seward**, 1849.

This volume, avowedly a "popular" biography, made its appearance in the next year after Mr. Adams's death. It was begun by Mr. Seward, and completed by another hand.

It has also been written by **President Josiah Quincy**, of Harvard University (1858).

By far the fullest and most authoritative life. Prepared at the request of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and based on the papers in the possession of that society and of the family of Mr. Adams.

Also by **John T. Morse, Jr.** (1882).

This volume, one of the issues in the "American statesmen" series, is not so much a biography as a political study of his career. See pp. 176-225. Mr. Morse's volume on Adams is one of the most brilliant of a very ably written series.

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There is a studiously depreciatory review of his career, by **Hugh Hastings**, in the *Magazine of American History*, July, 1882, v. 8, pp. 449-68, under the title **Pricking an historical bubble**.

* For other material see the Boston Athenæum catalogue, v. I, p. 15.

D. *Biographies of Adams's contemporaries.*

See the **Life of Calhoun** (Vice-President), by **H. von Holst** (American statesmen series).

See also the **Life and speeches of Henry Clay** (Secretary of State).

Also **Kennedy's Life of William Wirt** (Attorney-General).

Sumner's Andrew Jackson, and **Adams's John Randolph**, serve to show some of the elements of opposition to President Adams.

Other biographies illustrating this period are **Curtis's Life of Daniel Webster**; **Jenkins's Life of Silas Wright**; and **Thurlow Weed's Autobiography**, v. I.

NOTE.—During this administration, and by a singular coincidence on the same day with each other, were terminated the long lives of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson; and by a still more remarkable coincidence, that day was the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

E. *Political history.*

See **Benton's Thirty years' view**, v. I, pp. 54-118.

Also **Sargent's Public men and events**, v. I, 106-14.

In the *Magazine of American History*, Sept., 1882, v. 8, pp. 629-32, is a letter written by a friend of Mr. Adams, in 1824, throwing important sidelights upon the presidential campaign of 1824-25.

For the presidential canvass of 1824, see Stanwood's "History of Presidential Elections," pp. 79-87. See also pp. 87-88 of the same work, for an examination of the question of the popular vote. "Any statistics of the election," says Mr. Stanwood, "are misleading, unless all the circumstances are taken into account," yet Jackson's popular plurality was in any case very large. For the final choice of Adams by the House of Representatives, Feb. 9, 1825, see the "Register of Debates," v. I, p. 527. Compare also the United States Government report on "Counting the Electoral Votes," 1789-1876, published in 1876. This election was the latest one of which the "Congressional caucus" was a feature, and the first in which a record is preserved of the popular vote cast. See Lalor's "Cyclopædia," I.

See also **Ormsby's History of the Whig party**.

Also **Johnston's History of American politics**, ch. II.

"The Clay and Adams factions," says Johnston, "soon united, and took the distinctive party name of National Republicans. Some years afterward this name was changed to that of Whigs," pp. 96-97.

Some important questions coming up for treatment during this administration (internal improvements, the South American alliances, the claims of the state of Georgia to sovereignty) are touched upon by **H. von Holst**, in his **Constitutional and political history of the United States**, v. 2, ch. 10-11. Compare also **Lalor's Cyclopædia of political science**, v. I, pp. 390-94, and v. 2, p. 570.

Mr. Adams had, even before his election, taken pains to put himself on record as in favor of the appropriation of the public money for "internal improvements." See his letter (in Jan., 1824) in *Niles's Weekly Register*, v. 26, p. 251.

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NOTE.—For extreme statements of the constitutional position of opposition to this doctrine, see Madison's report of 1800 (in Elliot's "Debates," v. 4, p. 236); also Madison's veto message of March 3, 1817, (in Elliot's "Debates," v. 4, pp. 280-81); also President Monroe's message of May 4, 1822. The "internal improvements" argument will also be found emphatically presented by Mr. Clay in his speech of March 13, 1818 (during Monroe's first administration), in his "Life and Speeches," v. 1, pp. 300-20. Judge Story, in his "Commentaries on the United States Constitution," (v. 2, pp. 692-704), in the course of a very careful examination of the subject, maintains that "it has the language and intent of the text, and the practice of the government, to sustain it against an artificial doctrine set up on the other side."

For comments on the appearance of a disposition to nullify the laws of the national government, eight years before the events in South Carolina, see the case, **The Cherokee nation vs. the state of Georgia**, by Richard Peters. See also **H. von Holst's Constitutional history**, v. 1, pp. 433-46. Governor Troup's message of Nov. 8, 1825, is printed in *Niles's Weekly Register*, v. 29, pp. 200-8. "This," says Professor Alexander Johnston, "was the first successful nullification of the laws of the United States." (*Lalor's Cyclopædia*, v. 1, p. 394.)

On the tariff of 1828, see **Sumner's Andrew Jackson**, pp. 202-6.

See also, as under previous administrations, **Porter's Outlines of the constitutional history of the United States**; and **Wilson's Rise and fall of the slave power**, v. 1.

F. *Diplomatic history.*

* **The American state papers**; Foreign relations, v. 6.

Also **Adams's Life of Albert Gallatin**,

Rush's Residence at the court of London.

G. *Social features.*

See the very vivid description by **Mr. George Ticknor**, of the delivery of Daniel Webster's eulogy on "Adams and Jefferson," in Faneuil Hall, Aug. 2, 1826 (quoted in **Curtis's Life of Daniel Webster**, v. 1, pp. 274-76).

The method of reaching Washington by stage-coach, from the various parts of the country, is graphically described in **Major Poore's** article (*Atlantic Monthly*, v. 45, pp. 53-54).

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

[1829-1837.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents.*

The messages and state papers are to be found in **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 11-12.

* **Gales and Seaton's Register of debates**, v. 6-13, 1829-37.

* Also in **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 2, pp. 695-960.

* In the **American annual register**, 1829-33.

* Also in *Niles's Register*, v. 39-51.

B. General Accounts.

* Tucker's History of the United States, v. 4.

Bryant and Gay's Popular history of the United States, v. 4.

In no other general history of similar extent is this period covered. It can, however, be studied in such works as Sargent's Public men and events, v. 1, and James A. Hamilton's Reminiscences, chap. 6-8.

Some very graphic representations of the occurrences of this period are in Major Poore's Reminiscences of Washington, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan., 1880, v. 45, pp. 53-66.

Very full memoranda are to be found in John Quincy Adams's Memoirs, v. 8-9.

* See also the account in Williams's Statesman's manual, v. 2-3, pp. 961-1028.

Also in Benton's Thirty years' view, v. 1, pp. 119-734.

Compare also Chevalier's Society, manners, and politics in the United States (1839).

C. Political history.

Besides the works already cited, see Van Buren's History of political parties in the United States.

* Ormsby's History of the Whig party.

Stanwood's History of presidential elections, pp. 96-112.

* There is also a History of the Loco-Foco, or equal rights party, by F. Byrdsall.

Johnston's History of American politics.

See also Bradford's History of federal government.

Dr. H. von Holst devotes the larger part of volume 2 of his Constitutional history of the United States to this period.

* He published in 1874, in pamphlet form, his inaugural address, Die administration Andrew Jackson's.

Reviewed by Henry Adams in the *North American Review*, v. 120, pp. 179-85.

The nullification measures of 1833 may be regarded as in part an outgrowth of the tariff legislation of the preceding decade. See Sumner's Andrew Jackson, pp. 207-23.

The proceedings of the convention of November, 1832, were separately published (Reports, ordinance, and addresses, Columbia, 1832).

Compare also the President's proclamation and other documents, printed in Elliot's debates, v. 4, p. 582; also Williams's Statesman's manual, v. 2, p. 890; also Niles's Register, v. 43, pp. 231, 288.

Consult also Calhoun's Works, v. 2, pp. 197, 262; also H. von Holst's John C. Calhoun.

The tariff measure of 1833 falls within this administration, and that of 1828 precedes it by only a brief interval. (For the text of the former see Benton's Abridgment of debates, v. 10, pp. 93-95.) That of 1828 was an increase, being

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the third successive increase since the close of the War of 1812. For memorials against this tariff (designated by some "the tariff of abominations") see the **American state papers**; **Finance**, v. 5, pp. 671-902.

NOTE.—For certain South Carolina protests, see pp. 973-85.

Compare also **Sumner's Andrew Jackson**, pp. 194-206.

The tariff of 1833 furnished the first measure of reduction in duties from the time of the war.

For the text of this tariff, see *Niles's Weekly Register*, v. 44, pp. 4-5.

See **Benton's Thirty years' view**, v. 1, pp. 85-86; Clay's speeches, Feb. 2, 3, and 6, 1832 (in his **Life and speeches**, v. 2, pp. 106-40); and **John Quincy Adams's Reports**, as Chairman of the House Committee on Manufactures, May 23, 1832, and Feb. 28, 1833 (in *Niles's Weekly Register*, v. 42, pp. 231-34; v. 44, pp. 204-16).

* Compare also **Hammond's History of political parties in the state of New York**, v. 2, chap. 35-42.

NOTE.—An account of the anti-masonic movement will be found in **Hammond's work**, v. 2, pp. 369-403.

The contest between the state of Georgia and the national Government (in the matter of the Cherokee lands, originating during Adams's administration, was prolonged during this. See **Sumner's Andrew Jackson**, pp. 174-83; **H. von Holst's Constitutional history**, v. 1, p. 433.

"The Georgia doctrine," says Sumner, "seemed to be that all three departments of the Federal Government must concur in holding a State law to be unconstitutional in order to set it aside." (**Sumner's Andrew Jackson**, p. 182.)

The decision of the United States Supreme Court (Chief-Justice Marshall), March, 1832, is in 6 Peters, 515.

Mr. Greeley is authority for the statement that the President, on hearing of this decision of the court, remarked: "John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it." (**Greeley's American conflict**, v. 1, p. 106.)

On the indifference to its enforcement which existed, see *Niles's Weekly Register*, v. 41, p. 213; 42, p. 78.

D. *Biographies of Jackson.*

* The earliest published **Life of Jackson**, covering any part of his presidency, is that by **Goodwin** (1832).

* That by **William Cobbett** was published in 1834.

* That by **Amos Kendall** (Part 1 only) appeared in 1843.

There is an illustrated article by **B. J. Lossing** in *Harper's Magazine*, Jan., 1855, v. 10, pp. 145-72.

The **Life by Parton**, in 1861, is in 3 volumes, and the most voluminous which has yet appeared.

The latest and most satisfactory work is that by **Professor William G. Sumner** (1882), in the "American statesmen" series.

E. *Biographies of Jackson's contemporaries.*

* On **Edward Livingston** (Secretary of State), see his **Life** by **C. H. Hunt**.

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* On **Levi Woodbury** (Secretary of the Navy), see the sketch in the *Democratic Review*, v. 2.

* On **Lewis Cass** (Secretary of War), see his *Life* by **W. L. G. Smith**.

* On **Roger B. Taney** (Attorney-General), see his *Memoirs*, by **Samuel Tyler**.

* On **John Marshall** (Chief-Justice), see the account of his *Life* in **Flanders's Lives of the chief-justices**, v. 1, pp. 293-456.

Also the volume, *Life of John Marshall*, by **Allen B. Magruder**, recently published in the series, "American statesmen."

On **John C. Calhoun**, see his *Life* by **H. von Holst** ("American statesmen" series).

On **Henry Clay**, see the account by **James Parton** in the volume, *Famous Americans*, pp. 3-52.

See also the following volumes in the "American statesmen" series: **Daniel Webster**, by **Henry Cabot Lodge**; **Albert Gallatin**, by **John Austin Stevens**; **John Quincy Adams**, by **John T. Morse, Jr.**; and **John Randolph**, by **Henry Adams**.

See also the * *Life of Silas Wright*, by **J. S. Jenkins**; the *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, v. 1; the *Life of Rufus Choate*, by **S. G. Brown**; also the *Life of Daniel Webster*, by **George Ticknor Curtis**; and the *Reminiscences of Daniel Webster*, by **Peter Harvey**.

The *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* have already been cited (v. 8-9).

* The *Life of Martin Van Buren*, President Jackson's political disciple and successor in the presidency, has been written by **W. C. Mackenzie**.

The *Autobiography of Amos Kendall*, (Postmaster-General,) also throws much light on this period.

F. Diplomatic history.

* See *Hunt's Life of Edward Livingston*, for the strained relations with France, consequent upon the proceedings in the matter of the French treaty.

* Compare also *Chevalier's Society, manners, and politics in the United States*.

Also *Sumner's Andrew Jackson*, pp. 343-48.

G. Military history.

* See the *History of the Indian wars* (chap. 2), by **John T. Sprague**.

H. Financial history.

See *Sumner's History of American currency*, pp. 88-160.

Gallatin's Considerations on the currency and banking system of the United States (1831).

See also the article on "Bank Controversies," in *Lalor's Cyclopædia of political science*, v. 1, pp. 199-204.

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I. *The civil service.*

Jackson's connection with the transformation of the civil service into a political organization is touched upon by **Dorman B. Eaton** in his **Spoils system and civil-service reform**.

Compare also **Sumner's Andrew Jackson**, pp. 145-49.

"It is," says Sumner, "a crude and incorrect notion that Andrew Jackson corrupted the civil service. His administration is only the date at which a corrupt use of the public service as a cement for party organization under democratic-republican government, after being perfected into a highly finished system in New York and Pennsylvania, was first employed on the Federal arena" (p. 147).

Compare **Hammond's History of political parties in the state of New York**, v. 1.

J. *Social features.*

See **Major Poore's** article in the *Atlantic*, above alluded to.

* See **Harriet Martineau's** account of President Jackson, in her **Society in America**, v. 1, pp. 61-63.

* **Wau Bun**, by **Mrs. J. H. Kinzie**, is a vivid picture of frontier life in Wisconsin during these years.

See the article on "The Old National Pike," in *Harper's Magazine*, Nov., 1879, v. 59, 801-16.

Webster's reply to Hayne in 1830 (printed in his **Works**, v. 3, pp. 270-342), was the occasion of a noteworthy scene, described by **Sargent**, in his **Public men and events**, v. 2, pp. 169-74.

NOTE.—Professor Sumner's "Andrew Jackson" contains (pp. 387-92), a very full list of works cited in connection with this subject. See also the bibliography prefixed to Parton's "Andrew Jackson."

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

[1837-41.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents*

* The messages and state papers are to be found in the **Congressional Globe**, 1837-41,

* In **Gales & Seaton's Register of debates**, v. 14 (ending with Oct. 16, 1837).

* In **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 13-14.

* In **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 3, 1045-1155.

* See also **Niles's Register**, v. 52-59.

B. *General accounts.*

Scarcely any period of United States history is more inadequately covered.

The fullest account is in **Bryant and Gay's Popular history of the United States**, v. 4.

* See also **Tucker's History of the United States**, v. 4.

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Compare also the chapter on this administration, in **Ben : Perley Poore's Reminiscences of Washington**, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1880, v. 46, pp. 67-75.

Also **Sargent's Public men and events**, v. 2.

C. Biographical accounts of Van Buren.

* See the **Lives** of him by **W. A. Butler**, **W. C. Mackenzie**, **W. M. Holland**, **David Crockett**, and others, all of which were of but slight value.

* See also the short sketches in such works as **Lincoln's Lives of the presidents**, etc.

* Also in **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 2, pp. 1029-44.

* Also in **Lalor's Cyclopædia**, v. 3, p. 1061.

NOTE.—A life of Van Buren by Hon. William Dorsheimer, of New York, is in preparation, and will appear in the "American statesmen" series.

D. Biographies of Van Buren's contemporaries.

* On **Amos Kendall**, (Postmaster-general), see his **Autobiography**.

* On **John Tyler**, see the **Seven decades of the Union**, by **H. A. Wise**.

* On **James K. Polk**, see his **Life**, by **J. S. Jenkins**.

On **James Buchanan**, see his **Life**, by **G. T. Curtis**, chap. 15.

* On **Silas Wright**, see his **Life**, by **Hammond**; also by **J. S. Jenkins**.

On **John C. Calhoun**, see his **Life**, by **H. von Holst** ("American statesmen" series).

On **Daniel Webster**, see his **Life**, by **H. C. Lodge** ("American statesmen" series).

Compare also **Sumner's Life of Andrew Jackson**.

On **Rufus Choate**, see his **Life**, by **S. G. Brown**.

See also the **Memoirs of John Quincy Adams**, v. 9-10.

E. Political history.

For the circumstances leading to his election, see **Stanwood's History of presidential elections**, pp. 112-22.

One of the richest mines of material for political history is to be found in **John Quincy Adams's Memoirs**, just cited. v. 9-10.

See also **Benton's Thirty years' view**, v. 2, pp. 1-108.

President Van Buren himself has left on record his judgments on contemporary political history in his posthumous work, **Inquiry into the origin and course of political parties in the United States**.

"Our political treatises and speeches," says Dr. A. B. Hart, of Harvard college, "show the lack of knowledge, and the danger of generalizing without it. Van Buren's 'Political parties' is an example of a book which thus assumes history instead of teaching it." ("Methods of teaching history," edited by G. Stanley Hall, p. 4.)

Van Buren's point of view is, of course, that of the Democratic party.

* The Whig view is presented in **Ormsby's History of the Whig party**.

See also **Hammond's History of political parties in the state of New York**, v. 2, chap. 40-42.

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An impartial view is to be found in **Professor Alexander Johnston's History of American politics.**

See also the article, "Democratic-Republican party," in **Lalor's Cyclopædia**, v. 1, pp. 768-88.

* Other less important accounts of this period will be found in **Young's American statesman**, etc.

On the character of his administration, Mr. Stanwood remarks: "Mr. Van Buren's administration was a continuation of General Jackson's. * * * The people had, however, begun to tire of Jackson before his second term expired, and Van Buren was unequal to the task of bringing them back to their allegiance." (**History of presidential elections**, pp. 123-24)

* See also **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 2, pp. 1157-70.

See also (down to 1839) the **History of federal government**, by **Alden Bradford**.

NOTE.—See also the political discussions in the works of Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, Levi Woodbury, John C. Calhoun.

On the slavery agitation, see **Wilson's Rise and fall of the slave power**, **Greeley's American conflict**, **John Quincy Adams's Memoirs**, **Quincy's Memoir of John Quincy Adams**, and **William Lloyd Garrison and his times**, by **Oliver Johnson**; Also **Garrison's Life**, by his son, **W. P. Garrison**, now in press; **Speeches of Wendell Phillips**, the **Life of Gerrit Smith**, by **O. B. Frothingham**; and the **Memoirs of Rev. Samuel J. May**.

On the presentation in Congress, by John Quincy Adams, of petitions in relation to slavery, see **Quincy's Memoir of John Quincy Adams**, pp. 250-62; **Gales and Seaton's Register of debates**, v. 13, pp. 560-68; **Niles's Weekly Register**, v. 51, p. 349.

On the financial crisis of 1837, and the events leading to it, see **Sumner's History of American currency**, pp. 132-61.

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF HARRISON AND TYLER.

[1841-1845.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents.*

* The messages and state papers are to be found in the **Congressional Globe**, 1841-45.

* In **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 14-15.

* In **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 2, pp. 1171-1428.

* See also **Niles's Register**, v. 60-67.

NOTE.—President Harrison's administration was terminated by his death, April 4, 1841, after occupying the President's chair only one month.

B. *General accounts.*

Bryant and Gay's Popular history of the United States, v. 4.

Ridpath's History of the United States, ch. 56.

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Sargent's Public men and events, v. 2, pp. 113-263.

Benton's Thirty years' view, v. 2, pp. 211-638.

NOTE.—The last is by far the most extended account.

See **Ben : Perley Poore's account of The Harrison administration**, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 46, pp. 369-79; and **The Tyler administration**, v. 46, pp. 531-42.

C. *Biographical accounts of Harrison.*

See the brief sketches in **Abbott's Lives of the presidents**, and **Lossing's Lives of the presidents**.

NOTE.—A funeral sermon on his death is found in G. W. Bethune's "Orations," pp. 197-200.

D. *Biographical accounts of Tyler.*

* See **H. A. Wise's Seven decades of the union. Memoir of John Tyler**.

Also the brief accounts in **Abbott's and Lossing's lives**.

See also the article on **The annexation of Texas**, by **Lyon Gardiner Tyler**, in the *Magazine of American History*, June, 1882, v. 8, pp. 377-99.

E. *Biographies of the contemporaries of these two presidents.*

See the volumes on **Webster** (Secretary of State), and **Calhoun**, in the "American statesmen" series.

Compare **Curtis's Life of Webster**, also **Clay's Speeches**, v. 2. Also **Coleman's Life of Crittenden**.

Also other biographies cited in the list on **Van Buren**.

F. *Political history.*

The election of **Harrison** in 1840 (electoral vote, 234 to 60) was the first successful attempt of the Whig party to gain the presidency. See **Stanwood's History of presidential elections**, pp. 123-39. The article **Whig party** (by **Professor Alexander Johnston**), in **Lalor's Cyclopædia**, v. 3, pp. 1101-8, is a careful review of the rise and growth of the party.

The fullest accounts of these administrations are in **Benton's Thirty years' view**, v. 2, pp. 211-638; and **John Quincy Adams's Memoirs**, v. 10-12.

See also **H. von Holst's Constitutional history of the United States**, v. 2.

Also **Johnston's History of American politics**.

Also the works of **Ormsby** and **Van Buren**, cited in the **Van Buren** list.

See also the political literature of this period in periodical form. The *Democratic Review* had already been published for four years, but the *American Review* (Whig) and *Brownson's Review* made their first appearance during this administration.

A graphic picture of the condition of the civil service at this time may be gained from a speech in Congress in 1841, by **Levi Woodbury** (**Woodbury's Writings**, v. 1, p. 128).

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See also the other authorities cited by **H. von Holst** (v. 2, pp. 509-15), who here, as in other instances, is very successful in citing what is to the disadvantage of the president of whom he at any time may be writing.

NOTE.—The political situation was anomalous. Although elected as Vice-President on a Whig ticket, Mr. Tyler, on succeeding to the presidency, antagonized the Whigs, yet never secured the confidence of the opposite party.

"Harrison's sudden death," says Johnston, "left the Whigs in control of Congress, but without the two-thirds majority necessary to override the vetoes of a President who was far more closely in sympathy with the Democratic party than with that to which he nominally belonged" (**Lalor's Cyclopædia**, v. 3, p. 959).

The tariff question formed one of the more noteworthy occasions for disagreement between the President and Congress. See the text of the tariff of 1842 (printed in the **American almanac**, 1843, pp. 180-85).

Here the Whig doctrine of protection was allowed to prevail against the movement toward reduction of duties, of nine years before. See **Benton's Thirty years' view**, v. 2, ch. 99.

President Tyler's veto messages are printed in **Benton's Abridgment**, v. 14, pp. 446-48, 480-83.

The slavery agitation.

See **Draper's History of the American civil war** (introductory chapters of v. 1).

Also **A. H. Stephens's Constitutional view of the war between the states**, v. 1.

Also **Greeley's American conflict**, v. 1.

It is also treated comprehensively (from the point of view of an anti-slavery man) in **Wilson's Rise and fall of the slave power**, v. 1, chs. 41-45.

NOTE.—The "Liberty party" had in 1840 for the first time made a presidential nomination.

Steps towards Texan annexation.

* See **Yoakum's History of Texas**, v. 2, pp. 485-512.

* Also **Lester's Sam Houston and his republic**.

* **T. J. Green's Expedition against Mier**.

Jay's Review of the Mexican war.

May's Reminiscences of the anti-slavery conflict.

Goodell's Slavery and anti-slavery.

Compare also the very extended review of the transactions of this period in **H. von Holst's Constitutional history**, v. 2, pp. 548-714.

The anti-rent difficulties in New York.

* See **Jenkins's Life of Silas Wright**, pp. 179-226.

Gould's History of Delaware county, N. Y.

* Also **Mrs. Willard's Last leaves of American history**, pp. 16-18.

NOTE.—The Little-page tales of James Fenimore Cooper ("Satanstoe," "The Chain-bearer," and "The Redskins") are connected with this occurrence.

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The constitutional movement in Rhode Island.

The charter of King Charles II. is printed in the **Federal and state constitutions**, v. 2, pp. 1595-1603.

The constitution proposed by the revolutionary party, in 1842, is printed in **Greene's Short history of Rhode Island**, pp. 317-32.

The present constitution, adopted Nov. 5, 1842, is printed in the **Federal and state constitutions**, v. 2, pp. 1603-13.

The issues are comprehensively reviewed in **Judge E. R. Potter's Considerations on the Rhode Island question**, published in 1842 and reprinted in 1879. The view of a writer in favor of the revolutionary movement is given in **Frieze's Concise history of the efforts to secure an extension of the suffrage in Rhode Island** (1842).

See also the **Life of Thomas W. Dorr**, by **D. King**.

The question of the relation of the general government to the transaction is exhaustively treated in the report (known as **Burke's Report**) on **The interference of the executive in the affairs of Rhode Island**, presented to Congress, June 7, 1844, covering 1076 pages.

Compare also **Daniel Webster's** argument in the case of *Luther v. Borden*, in the United States Supreme Court, Jan. 27, 1848 (**Webster's Works**, v. 6, pp. 217-42).

G. Diplomatic history.

The treaty with Great Britain, known as the "Webster-Ashburton treaty," was concluded Aug. 9, 1842, settling the northern boundary of the country.

On the points at issue in this boundary question, see **Benton's Thirty years' view**, v. 2, pp. 420-50.

Also the late **Israel Washburn's** address before the Maine Historical Society, on **The northern boundary and the Webster-Ashburton treaty**.

See also **Barrow's Oregon**, pp. 229-38.

See also **Curtis's Life of Webster**, v. 2, pp. 94-205; and **Lodge's Daniel Webster**, pp. 253-60.

Compare also **Webster's Private correspondence**, v. 2, pp. 148-58.

Adams's Albert Gallatin, v. 3.

See also **Niles's Register**, v. 64, p. 27.

The text of the treaty is in the **Treaties and conventions**, pp. 369-75.

H. Social features.

San Francisco as it existed in 1841 is described in **Commodore Wilkes's Explorations**, v. 5, pp. 151-52.

The first message sent over the Morse electric telegraph, May 29, 1844, is described in **Prime's Life of S. F. B. Morse**, pp. 491-94.

Mr. Webster's oration at the dedication of the Bunker Hill monument, June 17, 1843, is printed in his **Works**, v. 1, pp. 83-107.

Compare **Harvey's Reminiscences of Webster**.

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POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

[1845-1849.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents.*

* The messages and state papers are to be found in the *Congressional Globe*, 1845-49.

* In **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 15 (to Aug., 1846, only).

* In **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 2, pp. 1429-1805.

* See also *Niles's Register*, v. 2, pp. 68-76.

B. *General accounts.*

Bryant and Gay's Popular history of the United States, v. 4, pp. 368-86.

Ridpath's History of the United States, ch. 57.

Sargent's Public men and events, v. 2, pp. 264-342.

Benton's Thirty years' view, v. 2, pp. 639-736.

NOTE.—The "Reminiscences of Washington," by Ben. Perley Poore, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 46; pp. 799-810, deal with "The Polk administration."

C. *Biographical accounts of Polk.*

* See the **Life of James K. Polk**, by J. S. Jenkins. Also that by **Hickman**.

See also **Chase's Administration of Polk**.

Also the accounts of his career in the **Lives of the presidents**, by **Lossing, Lincoln, and Abbott**.

* There is an appreciative eulogy of him, by **Levi Woodbury** (in **Woodbury's Writings**).

D. *Biographies of Polk's contemporaries.*

See the volumes on **Webster, Calhoun, and J. Q. Adams**, in the "American statesmen" series.

Also **Curtis's Life of Webster**.

On **James Buchanan** (Secretary of State, during this administration), see the recently published **Life of him**, by **George Ticknor Curtis**.

* On **Robert C. Winthrop** (speaker of the House of Representatives), see **H. G. Wheeler's History of Congress**, v. 1, pp. 376-424.

John Quincy Adams's Memoirs are of service, till his death, Feb. 23, 1848.

See the **Life and speeches of Henry Clay**.

Also the **Life of J. A. Quitman**, by **J. F. A. Claiborne**.

See also the **Autobiography of W. H. Seward**.

Also the **Autobiography of Thurlow Weed**.

Also the other works cited in the list on **Van Buren's administration**.

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E. Political history.

On the election of 1840, see **Stanwood's History of presidential elections**, pp. 146-60.

See **Chase's Administration of Polk**.

See also **Benton's Thirty years' view**, v. 2, pp. 639-736.

H. von Holst's Constitutional history of the United States, v. 3, pp. 1-216.

Johnston's History of American politics, pp. 141-51.

Reminiscences of Washington [1845-49], by **Ben: Perley Poore**, in the *Atlantic*, v. 46, pp. 799-810.

* See also **Ormsby's History of the Whig party**.

* Also the *American Review*; a *Whig Journal*, v. 2-9.

* *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, v. 17-25.

Notiz.—Both the above periodicals changed their titles in successive issues.

Niles's Register, v. 68-76.

The progress of slavery legislation.

See **Stephens's Constitutional view of the war between the states**.

Wilson's Rise and fall of the slave power, v. 1.

Greeley's American conflict, v. 1, pp. 24-279.

H. von Holst's Constitutional history of the United States, v. 2, 3.

May's Anti-slavery recollections.

The Wilmot Proviso.

See **Wilson's Slave power**, v. 2, pp. 16-17; also **H. von Holst**, v. 3, pp. 306-10.

See **James Freeman Clarke's Anti-slavery days**.

See also the biographies of **Garrison**.

See **Lalor's Cyclopædia**, under the articles, *Annexations*; *Wars*; *Wilmot Proviso*; *Free-Soil Party*; *Internal Improvements*; *Tariff*.

Compare also various addresses and speeches of **Charles Sumner**, **Wendell Phillips**, **W. H. Seward**, and others, as published in their writings.

F. Military history.

* See the **History of the Mexican war**, by **E. D. Mansfield**.

* Also the spirited account of the naval operations, in **The broad pennant**, by **F. W. Taylor**.

* An interesting record is also given in **Captain William S. Henry's Campaign sketches of the war with Mexico**.

* The Mexican view is presented in **The other side**, a work published in Mexico by **Iglesias** and others, and edited by **A. Ramsay**; and in **Mexico and her chieftains**, by **F. Robinson**.

See also the **Life of Gen. Winfield Scott**, by **E. D. Mansfield**, and also **Gen. Scott's Autobiography**.

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* There is also a book entitled **Taylor and his generals.**

* See also **Dawson's Battles of the United States.**

* See also **Ladd's War with Mexico**, in the series, "Minor wars of the United States."

G. *Territorial movements.*

* On the Oregon question, see the **History of Oregon and California**, by **R. Greenhow.**

Also the recently published volume on **Oregon**, by **William Barrows.**

Also **H. von Holst's Constitutional history**, v. 3, pp. 29-79.

Benton's Thirty years' view, v. 2, pp. 426-30, 441-44; 468-78.

See also the other references under **Oregon**, in the *Magazine of American History*, v. 7, pp. 461-62.

The text of the treaty, signed June 15, 1846, is found in the "Treaties and conventions," pp. 375-76.

On the Mexican boundary, see **Webster's Works**, v. 5, pp. 294-301.

Also the list of references on Mexico, in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, February, 1884, v. 4, p. 5.

The changes in the boundary lines of the United States between 1845 and 1848 may be seen by a glance at the map in **Scribner's Statistical atlas**, plate 16.

H. *Social and other features.*

See the account of **John Quincy Adams's** sudden and fatal paralytic stroke in the Capitol, as given by **Major Poore**, *Atlantic Monthly*, 46: 808-9, and in **Morse's John Quincy Adams** (in the "American statesmen" series), pp. 307, seq.

In **Fremont's Explorations** (pp. 235-37), is a description of his expedition through Northern California.

In **F. W. Taylor's The broad pennant** (pp. 240-42), is a spirited description of a cruise in the Gulf of Mexico.

In **Seeking the golden fleece**, by **J. D. B. Stillman**, is a characteristic account of the "Men of '49," in the early days of California.

James Russell Lowell's Biglow papers, making their appearance at this time, expressed in striking satire the spirited opposition of those who did not approve the policy of slavery legislation and war.

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE.

[1849-1853.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents.*

* The messages and state papers are to be found in the *Congressional Globe*, 1849-53.

* **Benton's Abridgment of debates**, v. 16.

* Also in **Williams's Statesman's manual**, v. 2, pp. 1861-1886,* 1927*-1928*.

B. *General accounts.*

Bryant and Gay's Popular history of the United States, v. 4, pp. 387-409.

Benton's Thirty years' view gives its closing chapter (v. 2, pp. 737-88) to Taylor's short administration, closing in 1850.

See also **Ben : Perley Poore's** articles (**Reminiscences of Washington**) in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. and April, 1881, v. 47, pp. 234-50, 538-47, on **The Taylor administration**, and **The Fillmore administration**.

C. *Biographies of Taylor.*

* There is a brief **Campaign Life** of him by **Ben : Perley Poore**; and also a brief memoir, in **C. E. Lester's Gallery of illustrious Americans** (1850). See also the volume entitled **Taylor and his generals**. For titles of other biographical and personal sketches, see the *Boston Athenæum catalogue*, v. 5, p. 2926. See also an article by **Louis Gaylord Clark**, in *Harper's Magazine*, Aug., 1850, v. 1, pp. 298-303.

NOTE.—On the circumstances of General Taylor's nomination in 1848, see an article by **J. D. Whelpley**, in the *American Whig Review*, July, 1848, v. 8, pp. 1-8.

D. *Biographies of Fillmore.*

See the sketch by **C. E. Lester**, in his **Gallery of illustrious Americans**.

See also an article on **Millard Fillmore** (with portrait), by **G. W. Hosmer**, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Jan., 1877, v. 31, pp. 1-16,

E. *Biographies of the contemporaries of Taylor and Fillmore.*

These four years (1849-53) witnessed the death of the three foremost American statesmen, Webster, Calhoun, and Clay. Calhoun died March 31, 1850; Clay, June 29, 1852; and Webster, Oct. 24, 1852. Another eminent public officer, Judge Levi Woodbury, died Sept. 3, 1851. President Taylor himself died July 9, 1850. On **Mr. Calhoun**, see the volume by **H. von Holst**, ("American statesmen" series).

On **Mr. Clay**, see his **Life and speeches**; also a volume by **Carl Schurz**, now in preparation ("American statesmen" series).

On **Mr. Webster**, see **Curtis's Life of Webster**; and **Lodge's Daniel Webster** ("American statesmen" series). See also other references cited in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, Oct., 1882, v. 2, pp. 35-37.

On **Mr. Woodbury** (who would probably have received the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 1852, had he lived), see the **Writings of Levi Woodbury**, v. 1, pp. vii-xi.

Edward Everett was Secretary of State during a part of this period. See the account by **R. C. Winthrop**, and others, in the memorial printed in 1865. The Attorney-General during this administration was John J. Crittenden. See his **Life**, by **Mrs. C. Coleman**. Sketches of members of the Senate will be found in **Baker's William H. Seward**; **Hamilton's Robert Rantoul**; **Warden's Salmon P. Chase**; **Sheahan's Stephen A. Douglas**; and **Upham's John C. Frémont**. Sketches of members of the House will be found in the **Life of**

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Horace Mann, by his wife; and in Wheeler's chapter on Robert C. Winthrop (*History of Congress*), v. 1, pp. 376-424.

NOTE.—As the later administrations are reached, the political biographies which have as yet made their appearance, and which are deserving of serious attention, become exceedingly rare.

F. *Political history.*

See chapter 17, in Johnston's *History of American politics*.

Also Stanwood's *History of presidential elections*, pp. 178-80.

See also the less satisfactory chapters in Williams's *Statesman's manual*, v. 2, pp. 1887*-1915*, and Young's *American statesman*, chaps. 70-73. Dr. H. von Holst's *Constitutional history of the United States* (v. 3, pp. 402-597) touches upon some of the important tendencies of these years.

The Democratic party.

Van Buren's *Political parties in the United States* touches upon this period in only the most indirect manner.

NOTE.—At the election of 1848 the Democratic party found itself divided into two sections,—“Conservatives” and “Free-soil men.” See Johnston's “*History of American politics*,” p. 148. Also the article, in Lalor's “*Cyclopædia of political science*,” v. 1, pp. 778-79.

The Whig party.

See Ormsby's *History of the Whig Party*, chap. 29.

NOTE.—The Whig success, at this presidential election (1848), was the beginning of a disintegrating tendency in the party. The source of disagreement was chiefly in the policy as to slavery legislation.

The “fugitive slave law” was passed Aug. 23, 1850. Mr. Clay introduced at this period the measure known as the “Compromise of 1850.” See Benton's *Debates*, v. 16, pp. 386-96, 399-437.

NOTE.—Compare this legislation with the provisions as to slavery, in the “*Ordinance of 1787*,” the “*Missouri compromise of 1820*,” and the proposed “*Wilmot proviso*,” of 1846-47. See Johnston's “*History of American politics*,” pp. 153, 146, 86-88, 57.

It was in connection with the debate on the “*Compromise of 1850*” that Mr. Webster delivered his famous “*Seventh-of-March*” speech (March 7, 1850).

See Lodge's *Daniel Webster*, pp. 301-32.

The anti-slavery element.

It was only gradually that this element crystallized into a separate party. In the presidential campaigns of 1840 and 1844 nominations were made by what was then called the “*Liberty party*.” In the election of 1848 these voters were joined by the Free-soil section of the Democratic party, the new combination bearing the name, (in this election and that of 1852,) of the “*Free-soil party*.”

See Lalor's “*Cyclopædia of political science*,” v. 1, p. 4.

*The disintegration of the Whig party was far from rapid. Yet the Mexican War policy had, in 1847-48, been the occasion of a formidable defection in Massachusetts, the protesting element being known as the “*Conscience Whigs*.” See Wilson's *Slave power*, v. 2, ch. 10; also James Russell Lowell's

Biglow papers, 1st series. It was not until the presidential campaign of 1856, that the Northern Whig element transferred most of its strength to the anti-slavery nucleus already existing—thus forming the basis of the modern Republican party.

See **Johnston's History of American politics**, pp. 130, 138-39, 148-49, 156, 159, 162, 167, 294-95.

See also **Blaine's Twenty years of Congress**, v. 1, pp. 86-108.

For other works dealing with the history of the anti-slavery movement during this period, see **Wilson's Rise and fall of the slave power in America**, v. 2, pp. 208-461; **Stephens's Constitutional view of the war between the states**, v. 2, pp. 176-240; **James Freeman Clarke's Anti-slavery days**; **J. R. Giddings's History of the rebellion**; and **G. W. Julian's Recollections of twenty years**.

During this administration, also, **Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's cabin** made its appearance. It was originally printed in 1851-52 (in the columns of a weekly newspaper), appearing in book form soon after.

See the edition of 1878, containing an elaborate bibliographical introduction.

Another noteworthy work which made its appearance during this administration was **The slave trade**, by **Henry C. Carey**, discussing the subject from an economic point of view.

G. *Territorial and diplomatic transactions.*

During this administration two treaties were negotiated with Great Britain (Apr. 19, 1850, and Feb. 8, 1853). The latter (known as the "Clayton-Bulwer treaty") is of interest from its taking a position with regard to the foreign policy of the United States, which was in a certain sense a withdrawal from the principles announced in the "Monroe doctrine."

See the article on the **The Monroe doctrine and the Isthmian canal**, in the *North American Review*, May, 1880, v. 130, pp. 499-512.

Also that on **The Monroe doctrine in 1881**, by **J. A. Kasson**, *North American Review*, Dec., 1881, v. 133, pp. 525-33.

Also the annual message of President Arthur, Dec. 6, 1881, in which he touches upon the desirableness of a modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

See also **Tucker's Monroe doctrine**, pp. 43-76.

NOTE.—The text of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is to be found in the volume "Treaties and conventions," pp. 377-80; and that of 1853, relative to claims, at pp. 380-83, of the same volume.

H. *Social and other features.*

For statistics of national progress, see the volumes of the United States census of 1850.

The quarto form was for the first time adopted in the publication of the volumes of this census.

During this administration **Dr. E. K. Kane** sailed in command of the **First Grinnell expedition** to the Arctic regions. See his published account of the expedition.

Of Kossuth's visit to the United States, in 1851-52, **Mr. Sargent** gives an

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unusual and decidedly unfavorable representation in his **Public men and events**, v. 2, pp. 381-84.

Some of the exciting occurrences in Congress during this period are graphically described by **Ben : Perley Poore**, in his **Reminiscences of Washington**, *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 41, pp. 240-44, 543-47.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

[1853-1857.]

A. *Official records and contemporary documents.*

* The messages and state papers are to be found in the *Congressional Globe*, 1853-57.

* **Benton's Abridgment of the debates of Congress** extends as far in this administration as to March, 1856, ending at this point with its 15th volume.

NOTE.—Williams's "Statesman's manual" stops at the point where Pierce's administration begins.

B. *General accounts.*

Bryant and Gay's Popular history of the United States gives (v. 4, pp. 405-23) less than 20 pages to this administration. Other general histories give still less.

The interesting sketches of presidential administrations by **Ben : Perley Poore** (cited in previous lists) come to an end with the beginning of Pierce's.

C. *Biographies of Pierce.*

* **Mr. Pierce** enjoyed the singular distinction of having as his biographer **Nathaniel Hawthorne**, the novelist (1852).

* Another life was published in 1852, written by **D. W. Bartlett**.

NOTE.—Both of the above, being prepared as lives of a presidential candidate, of course stop at the point where his presidency begins. The second-named, however, appeared in a new edition in 1855, with additions.

D. *Biographies of Pierce's contemporaries.*

* On **William L. Marcy** (Secretary of State), see **Jenkins's Lives of the Governors of New York** (published, however, in 1851).

On **Jefferson Davis** (Secretary of War), see his **Life**, by **E. A. Pollard**.

* On **Caleb Cushing** (Attorney-General) see **Savage's** volume, **Our living representative men** (1860).

On **T. A. Hendricks** (member of the House), see the sketch appended to **Dorsheimer's Life of Cleveland**.

The member of Congress of greatest prominence, however, at this time was **Stephen A. Douglas**. No satisfactory work has as yet appeared, devoted to his life and career. See, however, the **Life of Stephen A. Douglas**, by **J. W. Sheahan**; also the **Addresses in Congress on the death of Stephen A. Douglas**; * also the volume published in 1866, by **J. M. Cutts**, entitled **Brief treatise upon constitutional and party questions, as I received it from the late Stephen A. Douglas**.

NOTE.—The policy most closely associated with Mr. Douglas's name is that known as "Popular sovereignty." See his article, "Federal and local authority," in *Harper's Magazine*, Sept., 1859, v. 19, p. 519.

It was, says Johnston, "a medium between the Willmot proviso and the demand of many of the southern Democrats for active Congressional protection of slavery in the territories."—Lalor's "Cyclopædia of political science," v. 3, p. 282.

For biography of the anti-slavery opposition, see A. B. Johnson's *Recollections of Charles Sumner*, *Scribner's*, v. 8, 9, 10 (1874-75); also the *Life and public services of Charles Sumner*; [*Note.*—*Pierce's Memoir and letters of Charles Sumner*, so far as published, stops at 1845]; *Life of S. P. Chase*, by R. B. Warden, also by J. W. Schuckers; *Oliver Johnson's Life of William Lloyd Garrison*; *Austin's Life of Wendell Phillips*, etc. On *William H. Seward*, see his *Works* (with *Life*), edited by G. E. Baker

E. Political history.

A succinct view of this period may be obtained from chapter 18 of *Johnston's History of American politics*.

The pre-eminent issue was the question of slavery extension in the territories. See *Alexander H. Stephens's Constitutional view of the war between the states*, v. 2, p. 253; *Wilson's Rise and fall of the slave power*, v. 2, pp. 380-87, 508-22; *Greeley's American conflict*, v. 1, pp. 225-40; and the introductory portion of *Blaine's Twenty years of Congress*, v. 1, pp. 110-23.

The *Kansas-Nebraska bill*, passed May 24, 1854, repealed the Missouri compromise of 1820.

See the references on the Missouri compromise, in the Munroe list.

The effects of this action are summarized by Johnston, in *Lalor's Cyclopædia*, v. 2, pp. 669-70.

This year [1854] appears to be generally agreed upon as that from which dates the party name "Republican," as used during the past thirty years. See *Johnston's History of American politics*, p. 162; *Blaine's Twenty years of Congress*, v. 1, pp. 117-18; *Smalley's History of the Republican party*; *Lalor's Cyclopædia*, v. 3, pp. 597-603.

NOTE.—There is, however, less agreement as to the exact place and occasion associated with the earliest use of this name. Claims have been made (1) for Strong, Me., Aug. 7, 1854 (see J. G. Blaine's remarks, at Strong, Aug. 14, 1884); (2) for Ripon, Wis. (see *Wilson's "Slave power"*, v. 2, p. 409); (3) for Exeter, N. H., 1854; (4) for Jackson, Mich., July 6, 1854 (see Lalor's "Cyclopædia," v. 3, p. 598); (5) for its use by members of Congress, May 23, 1854 (see *Wilson's "Slave power"*, v. 2, pp. 410-11).

The disturbances in Kansas at this time may be studied in **Holloway's History of Kansas*; also in **Kansas*; its interior and exterior life, by Mrs. S. T. L. Robinson (wife of the governor under the "Topeka constitution"); also the letters of Mr. T. H. Gladstone, correspondent of the *London Times*, published under the title, *The Englishman in Kansas*; also *Curtis's Buchanan*, v. 2, pp. 197-210; also the *Works of Charles Sumner*, v. 4.

See also the *Tribune Almanac*, 1854, 1855.

Opposition to the slavery measures may be studied also in *Wilson's Slave power*, v. 2, pp. 434-507; *Johnson's Life of Garrison*; *James Freeman Clarke's Anti-slavery days*; *The acts of the Anti-slavery apostles*, by

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Parker Pillsbury; and **Political recollections, 1840-72**, by **G. W. Julian**; **Tyler's Life of Chief-Justice Taney**; and **Curtis's Life of James Buchanan**, v. 2, pp. 269-72.

NOTE.—The "Dred Scott case," in the United States Supreme Court, although decided in 1856, properly belongs within the next administration, since the decision was not promulgated until March 6, 1857.

The presidential campaign of 1856 no longer saw a Whig ticket in nomination. Of the three tickets nominated, (1) Democratic, (2) American, (3) Republican, the last received 114 electoral votes.

NOTE.—Volume 4 of Dr. von Holst's "Constitutional history of the United States," soon to appear, covers the period of this administration.

F. *Diplomatic history.*

The desire for territorial aggression manifested itself during this period, by occasional "filibustering" in the West Indies. See **Hurlbut's Pictures of Cuba** (1852).

This aggressive policy in Cuba was formally proclaimed (by the American ministers to the courts of Great Britain, France, and Spain), in an official dispatch dated at Ostend, Belgium, Oct. 9, 1854, and thence called the **Ostend manifesto**. See **Curtis's Life of James Buchanan**, v. 2, pp. 136-41.

A treaty with Great Britain, partly relating to fisheries, was signed June 5, 1854. [Printed in the U. S. volume of **Treaties and conventions**, pp. 383-87].

NOTE.—This treaty was a "reciprocity treaty," so far as the boundary between the United States and Canada was concerned (see Article 3), and was to "remain in force for ten years" (see Article 5). On the outbreak of the American Civil War in the seventh year of the treaty, its inconvenience as a means of diminishing revenue was at once felt. It was terminated with great promptness, on the expiration of the prescribed time, March 17, 1866.

G. *Social and other features.*

Mr. W. A. Phillips has graphically described a picturesque interview with Captain John Brown, at Lawrence, Kansas, in July, 1856, **Atlantic Monthly**, Dec., 1879, v. 44, pp. 738-41.

Mr. Buchanan's singular conduct in relation to wearing the court costume, while minister to Great Britain, in Feb., 1854, is naively stated by **Buchanan** himself, in a letter of that date. [Printed in **Curtis's Buchanan**, v. 2, pp. 111-12.]

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

1857-1861.

A. *Official records and contemporary documents.*

The messages and state papers are to be found in the **Congressional Globe**, 1857-61; covering the 35th and 36th Congresses.

See also the **Statesman's manual**, v. 3, pt. 2 (to 1858, only).

B. *General accounts.*

See **Bryant and Gay's Popular history of the United States**, v. 4.

The four years here comprised are also touched upon with almost uniform brevity, in the following compendious histories of the United States.

Scudder's History of the United States.

Gilman's History of the American people.

Ridpath's History of the United States.

Lees's History of the United States, and others.

C. Biographies of Buchanan.

In the autumn of 1856 was published a campaign life of **Mr. Buchanan**, (then a candidate for the presidency), by **R. G. Horton**.

Other biographical sketches are found in **J. S. C. Abbott's Lives of the presidents**, **Gobright's Recollections of men and things at Washington**, and in one of a series of **Political portraits**, in the *Democratic Review*, 1842, II: 650,

Not until recently, however, has any adequate study of his life been made. In 1883 was published the **Life of James Buchanan**, 2 v., by **George Ticknor Curtis**, himself one of the ablest jurists of the United States.

Reviewed, with strictures, in *The Nation*, Sept. 27 and Oct. 4, 1883, v. 37, pp. 277-78, 293-95.

Two articles by **James Russell Lowell** (in the *Atlantic Monthly*, April and June, 1858, v. 1, pp. 745-60; v. 2, pp. 111-18) strongly condemn the course taken by President Buchanan during his first year.

D. Biographies of Buchanan's contemporaries.

On **Lewis Cass**, (Secretary of State), see his **Life**, by **W. L. G. Smith**, 1856 (before the period referred to).

On **Jeremiah S. Black** (at first Attorney-General, afterwards Secretary of State), see the sketch in **Lanman's Dictionary of Congress**.

On **John C. Breckinridge** (Vice-President), see the pamphlet, entitled **Portraits and sketches of the lives of all the candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency, for 1860**.

On **Stephen A. Douglas** (Senator), see his **Life**, by **J. A. Sheahan**; also the **Portraits and sketches**, last cited. Also **Savage's** volume, **Our living representative men**.

On **Andrew Johnson** (Senator), see *The Nation* of August 5, 1875, v. 21, p. 77.

On **Henry B. Anthony** (Senator), see his funeral oration by **Rev. Augustus Woodbury**, Sept. 2, 1884.

On **William H. Seward** (Senator), see his **Life**, by **G. E. Baker**.

On **Charles Sumner** (Senator), see his **Life**, by **D. A. Harsha**.

NOTE.—The "Memoirs and letters of Charles Sumner," by **Edward L. Pierce**, extend only to 1845.

Two of the additions to the cabinet in its closing months are noteworthy—**General Dix** and **Mr. Stanton**. On **John A. Dix** (Secretary of the Treasury), see his **Life**, by **Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix** (2 v., 1882).

On **Edwin M. Stanton** (Attorney-General), see the **Life of Abraham Lincoln**, by **J. G. Holland**.

On **Thaddeus Stevens** (member of House), see the **Life**, by **E. B. Candler**, an extraordinarily constructed volume in its treatment of personal traits.

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See also the *Life of Thurlow Weed*, by Thurlow Weed Barnes, v. 2, pp. 249-67.

See also the *Life of Gerrit Smith*, by O. B. Frothingham, pp. 233-62.

Also the *Life of Wendell Phillips*, by G. L. Austin.

See also the article, *Unsuccessful candidates for the presidency of the nation*, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, in the *Magazine of American History*, Nov., 1884, v. 12, pp. 385-413, for accounts of *Cass*, *Scott*, and *Hale*.

E. *Political History.*

The brief account by Johnston (*History of American politics*, pp. 170-85) is one of the best. A much less satisfactory account is that in *A. W. Young's American statesman*, pp. 978-1000, and it extends only to Dec., 1859. Other accounts are in *Cooper and Fenton's American politics*, and *L. H. Porter's Outlines of the constitutional history of the United States*, pp. 268-73.

This period is exhaustively treated in the forthcoming volume (v. 4) of *Dr. H. von Holst's Constitutional history of the United States*.

It is also rapidly summarized in v. 1 of *Draper's History of the American civil war*.

It is treated with great fulness in *Twenty years of Congress*, by James G. Blaine, v. 1, pp. 129-77.

There is also a class of works, of the nature of personal reminiscences, which throw important light on this period. Such are the *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton, 1789-1866*, pp. 427-39; the *Political recollections of George W. Julian, 1840-72*, pp. 154-80; also *Eight years in Congress*, by S. S. Cox, 1857-65.

See also such works as *Seven decades of the Union*, by H. A. Wise, 1790-1862, pp. 245-52.

See also *J. R. Giddings's History of the rebellion*, pp. 402-61; *The origin of the late war*, by George Lunt, pp. 323-31; *The sectional controversy*, by W. C. Fowler, pp. 187-237; and *The war between the states*, by Alexander H. Stephens.

F. *Anti-slavery movements.*

Of those works which are most intimately concerned with the development of the anti-slavery movement, see *The rise and fall of the slave power in America*, by Henry Wilson, v. 2, pp. 522-704; v. 3, pp. 1-172.

See also the *Lives of Gerrit Smith and Wendell Phillips*, above cited. Also *Anti-slavery days*, by James Freeman Clarke; also a volume recently published, entitled *Acts of the anti-slavery apostles*, by Parker Pillsbury, a work which, in its quiet intensity, recalls the narratives of the early Quakers in New England.

On the Dred Scott decision, rendered March 6, 1857, see the full text of the decision, with opinions, etc. (published as a pamphlet of 633 pages, New York, 1857); Judge Benjamin R. Curtis's dissenting opinion (printed at pages 213-

305 of v. 2 of his *Memoir*); the **Historical and legal examination of the Dred Scott case**, by Thomas H. Benton; also the pamphlets of Judge S. A. Foot (1859); Dr. Van Evrie (1860); and Dr. J. T. Brooke (1861). Also the article, **Dred Scott case**, in *Lalor's Cyclopædia*.

On the proceedings in Kansas, see *Holloway's History of Kansas*; various speeches and addresses in *Charles Sumner's Works*, v. 4; and *Geary and Kansas*, by J. H. Gihon. The text of the state constitutions successively adopted by citizens of Kansas (1855, 1857, 1858, 1859) will be found in the **Federal and state constitutions**, v. 8, pp. 580-644.

On the "anti-slavery literature" of this period, see *Wilson's Slave power*, and the paper on *The philosophy of the abolition movement*, in *Wendell Phillips's Speeches, letters, and lectures*.

See particularly *The impending crisis of the South*, by H. R. Helper (1857).

See also *South and North*, by Rev. J. S. C. Abbott (1860).

On the Harper's Ferry insurrection, 1859, see the U. S. *Report of the committee of Congress on the Harper's Ferry insurrection, 1859*; *The public life of John Brown*, by James Redpath; *Life and letters of John Brown*, by R. D. Webb; *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, edited by James Redpath; *Letters of Victor Hugo, on John Brown* (1861).

G. *Secession of southern states, 1860-61.*

The ordinance of secession, as passed by South Carolina, Dec. 20, 1860, is printed in the volume, *Echoes from the South* (New York, 1866), pp. 46-57.

See also McPherson's *Political history of the United States of America during the great rebellion*, p. 2.

The *Address of the people of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1860), and the *Declaration of the causes* (Charleston, 1860), are also in *McPherson*, pp. 12-16.

The "ordinances of secession," as passed by the 9 other southern states, 1860-61, are printed in the volume, *Echoes from the South*, pp. 50-71.

The measures preliminary to this are examined in the volume, *First blows of the civil war (1850-60)*, by James S. Pike, pp. 360-526 (published 1879).

See also Lieut.-Col. T. M. Anderson's work, *The political conspiracies preceding the rebellion* (published 1882). The same ground is gone over in Col. John C. Nicolay's volume, *The outbreak of rebellion, 1860-61*.

See also pp. 1-31 of v. 1, of *Moore's Rebellion record*.

Also the article, **Secession**, in *Lalor's Cyclopædia*.

On various peace projects, see the bill (known as the **Crittenden compromise**), introduced in Congress.

See also the pamphlet, *A review of the Crittenden and other resolutions* (New York, 1861).

Also the *Official journal of the conference convention*, Washington, Feb., 1861.

Also the official reports of the *Debates and proceedings* of the same convention.

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See also a pamphlet published at New York the same year, entitled **The peace convention at Washington, and the Virginia convention at Richmond.**

The light in which Mr. Buchanan's position in 1860-61 was placed by successive publications, 1861-65, led to his giving to the public in 1865 a defence of his procedure: **The administration on the eve of the rebellion** (London, 1865).

"This narrative," says Mr. Buchanan, "was prepared soon after its [the rebellion's] outbreak, substantially in the present form"; but was kept from the publisher in order not to "embarrass Mr. Lincoln's administration." (P. iii.)

Mr. Buchanan's attitude has also been defended more recently by his biographer, **Mr. Curtis**, in his **Life of James Buchanan**, v. 2, pp. 187-506.

H. *The presidential election of 1860.*

The figures showing the popular and electoral vote in this election are given in **McPherson's Political history of the great rebellion**, p. 9.

On Mr. Lincoln's relations with Stephen A. Douglas during the campaign, see the **Speeches of Lincoln and Douglas, 1860.** See also the **Life and public services of Abraham Lincoln**, by **H. J. Raymond**, pp. 46-160.

The presidential campaign of 1860 is described by **Edward Stanwood**, in his volume, **A history of presidential elections** (1884), under the heading, "The last struggle for slavery," pp. 214-35.

[GENERAL NOTE ON THE ADMINISTRATIONS FROM 1861 TO 1885, INCLUSIVE.]

The official records and contemporary documents will be found in the successive documents of the executive and legislative departments, Congresses 37th to 48th, inclusive; and in the *Congressional Globe*, 37th to 42d Congresses; continued under name of *Congressional Record*, 43rd to 48th Congresses, inclusive. The **Political register and congressional directory**, compiled by **Ben: Perley Poore** (1878), constitutes a statistical record of the Congresses to that date. See also, for the Congresses since 1878, the successive issues of the **Congressional directory** (originally begun in 1855), published at each session of Congress. For a full list of names of all persons connected with the various branches of service of the United States government, see the **Official register of the United States**, published at intervals of two years. [Compare also, for a record of the places themselves, the recent volume by **J. M. Comstock**, on **The civil service of the United States.**] See also **The United States government: its organization and practical workings**, by **G. N. Lamphere** (1880).

For the noteworthy political and judicial features of these years, see **McPherson's Political history of the United States of America during the great rebellion** (1861-1865); also his **Political manuals** (1866-70), afterwards revised and issued in one volume, under the title **The political history of the United States of America during the period of reconstruction** (1865-70); also his **Hand-books of politics**, issued biennially, beginning with 1872. The successive issues of the **American almanac** (beginning 1830 and ending 1862), also the **American almanac** of later years, edited by **A. R.**

Spofford, beginning in 1878, and the **Tribune Almanac**, which has been published since 1838, all contain extremely valuable statistics, not only of the political, but of the financial, industrial, and social condition of the country. The **American annual cyclopædia** (published since 1865) contains detailed and comprehensive articles on the various occurrences of these successive years. The "Monthly record of current events," in *Harper's Magazine*, constitutes a convenient running record of occurrences, with dates. The files of such weekly journals as *The Nation* (published since 1865); the *Financial Chronicle* (published since 1865); *Bradstreet's* (published since 1880), etc., will be found of great serviceableness in following the development of this period. Each separate volume of these has its own index; and *The Nation* is indexed in **Poole's Index**. See also **An analytical index to the political contents of The Nation (with occasional references to other works), forming a record of politics and politicians in the United States, 1865-1882.**

Three United States censuses have been chiefly published during this period (the 8th, 9th, and 10th). The first of these (the 8th) was taken in the year preceding 1861, though not fully published until later. The census of 1860 is in three quarto volumes, with compendium; that of 1870, in five quarto volumes, with compendium; and that of 1880, in ten quarto volumes, so far as published, with others in preparation, also with compendium in two volumes, or two in one. Upon the census of 1870 was based the **Statistical atlas of the United States**, edited by **General Francis A. Walker**; and on that of 1880, the very much more comprehensive **Scribner's Statistical atlas of the United States**, edited by **F. W. Hewes and Henry Gannett**.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

[1861-1865.]

This period is described, with great brevity only, in the compendious histories of the United States by **Scudder, Gilman, and Ridpath**.

Of biographies of Lincoln, the least unsatisfactory are those by **I. N. Arnold** (1884); **W. O. Stoddard** (1885); and **H. J. Raymond** (1865).

(See, however, the special list of references on **Abraham Lincoln**, in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, June, 1881, v. 1, p. 21. The literature relating to Lincoln is exceedingly voluminous. In **Sabin's Dictionary of books relating to America** it occupies eleven pages; in **Bartlett's Literature of the rebellion** it occupies thirteen pages; in a single special collection alone, that of the late **C. Fiske Harris** (now in the Providence Public Library), it comprises 381 separate publications, in six separate languages.

Of biographies of Lincoln's contemporaries, the following may be mentioned: **Baker's Life of Seward** (Secretary of State); **Schucker's Life of Chase** (Secretary of the Treasury); **J. B. Mann's Life of Henry Wilson** (Vice-President); also the **Lives of Sumner, Douglas**, and others, cited in the list on Buchanan's administration.

See also **Johnson's Life of Garrison**. Also **W. P. Garrison's Life and letters of W. L. Garrison** (now in press); **Austin's Life of Wendell Phillips**; **Frothingham's Life of Gerrit Smith**.

Also **Parson's Life of Greeley**; **Thurlow Weed's Life and writings**; and **Julian's Political recollections**.

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NOTE.—Military biography will be separately considered later.

Of works on the political history of this period, see *The political history of the United States during the period of the great rebellion, 1861-1865*, by Edward McPherson.

Also the *History of the administration of President Lincoln*, by Henry J. Raymond.

Also chapters 20 and 21 of the *History of presidential elections*, by Edward Stanwood.

Also chapter 20 of *Johnston's History of American politics*.

See also the chapter on political history, in *Scribner's Statistical atlas of the United States, 1885*, pp. xxix.-xxx.

Much material of interest also will be found in such works as *Twenty years of Congress*, by J. G. Blaine, v. 1, pp. 279-602; *Political recollections*, by G. W. Julian, pp. 181-259; *Eight years in Congress*, by S. S. Cox; *Three decades of federal legislation, 1855-85*, by S. S. Cox (now in press); *Reminiscences*, by James A. Hamilton, etc.

The question of slavery was inseparably associated with the political development of this period. See, for instance, the work by Henry Wilson, *History of the anti-slavery measures of the 37th and 38th Congresses*; also the same author's *History of the rise and fall of the slave-power in America*, vol. 3. Also the work by the late Isaac N. Arnold, entitled the *History of Abraham Lincoln and the overthrow of slavery*. Also *Slavery and anti-slavery*, by William Goodell.

The emancipation proclamation was issued by President Lincoln, January 1, 1863. [Printed in *McPherson's Political history*, pp. 228-29.]

The 13th amendment to the United States Constitution (abolishing slavery "within the United States") was passed by Congress, February 1, 1865, and proclaimed December 18, 1865. [Printed in *Johnston's History of American Politics*, p. 286.]

The civil war.

The civil war of 1861-65 may be studied in the *History of the American civil war*, by John W. Draper. 3 vols., 1868.

A scientifically planned history of the event, by a northern writer of great ability, and considerable freedom from partiality.

Also in the *Southern history of the war*, by E. A. Pollard, 4 vols. (pub. 1862, 1863, 1865, 1866).

Invaluable to the student, as furnishing the southern point of view. See also the same author's "Secret history of the confederacy."

Aside from Draper's, the most noteworthy general account of the war is *The American conflict*, by Horace Greeley, 2 vols., 1864.

Mr. Greeley's first volume is a review of the political events leading to the war. The work is characterized by Mr. Greeley's peculiarities.

An attractively written work is the *Pictorial field-book of the civil war*, by Benson J. Lossing, 3 vols., 1866-68, with illustrations.

The illustrations of war scenes printed in *Harper's Weekly* during the war, were reprinted in *Harper's pictorial history of the great rebellion*, 2 vols., 1866-68.

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The best of the military histories of the war is the **History of the American civil war**, by the **Comte de Paris**, vols. 1-3 (carrying it to 1864), pub. 1875 to 1883.

The Comte de Paris' work is still in process of publication, having reached in the French original the year 1864, and in the English translation in the same year. The author was himself a participant in the war, being a member of General McClellan's staff.

The volume by **William Swinton**, **The twelve decisive battles of the [American civil] war**, while consisting of separate chapters for each of these twelve battles, has so linked them together by brief summaries of their causes and effects as to form one of the best-connected accounts of the whole.

There is a recent volume by **Capt. Theodore A. Dodge**, entitled **A bird's-eye view of our civil war**, which is a convenient summarized account.

The series of volumes (16 in all, 13 devoted to the army and 3 to the navy) published under the general title, **Campaigns of the civil war**, constitute one of the most successful presentations of the subject, as viewed by northern participants in the struggle.

No series of volumes, however, can surpass in value for the critical student of the subject the official records of **The war of the rebellion**, from the archives of both the Union and Confederate armies, the publication of which was begun in 1881. This set of volumes has now reached Series I., vol. 12, part 1, bringing the subject to 1862.

A volume of great interest appeared in 1880, under the title of **Annals of the war**, consisting of the narratives of eminent officers engaged in the war, on both sides.

NOTE.—It is in such personal narratives as these that some of the most important material for the student will be found. No one should neglect the "Publications of the Massachusetts Military Historical Society," the "Personal narratives of the Rhode Island Soldiers' and Sailors' Historical Society," the special publications of various other state military organizations, both North and South, etc. The hundreds of regimental histories which have appeared since the close of the war are also of great value. The first five instalments of an important series of descriptive and historical papers on the civil war have made their appearance in the *Century*, beginning with November, 1884. Two of those above referred to are by General Grant and General Beauregard; and others will appear, from General McClellan, General Johnston, General Fitz John Porter, and others. See also the valuable papers on the civil war, in the *Magazine of American History*, July, 1885, 2 v. 14.

During the war the publication of **The rebellion record** was begun, under the editorship of **Frank Moore**. In this was included a wide variety of material bearing upon the life of the country during the war, social, political, military, industrial, etc. The series comprised 12 large octavo volumes.

The diplomatic history of the war for the Union (Boston, 1883) comprises the selected official correspondence of the Secretary of State (William H. Seward), 1861-65. Compare also the successive volumes of reports on **Foreign relations**, 1861-65.

The lives of officers and others engaged in the contest, on both sides, are also of intimate importance in this connection. Instances are the **Military history of General Ulysses S. Grant**, by Adam Badeau, 3 vols.; the **Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman**; **Sherman's historical raid**, by H. V. Boynton; the **Life of General Robert E. Lee**, by John Esten Cooke; **General Joseph E. Johnston's Narrative of military operations**, etc. See also the forthcoming work by **Gen. U. S. Grant**.

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NOTE.—The foregoing references, under the head of the CIVIL WAR, must not be understood as any thing more than an indication of some of the noteworthy and representative publications falling under this head. The literature of the subject is too vast to admit of any thing more, in this brief compass. The reader is referred to Bartlett's "Literature of the rebellion," published 1866; and to the entries under this head in such catalogues as those of the Boston Athenæum, Massachusetts State Library, Brooklyn Library, etc.

The southern confederacy.

The government of the Confederate States of America had its organic basis in the constitution adopted March 11, 1861, by the provisional Congress of 1861, at Montgomery, Alabama. [Published in separate form, Richmond, 1861; also printed in the *American annual cyclopædia*, 1861, pp. 627-31.]

February 9, 1861, Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens were chosen respectively President and Vice-President.

NOTE.—Both of these officers have put on record their narratives of Confederate history and of the causes leading to these events. See "The rise and fall of the Confederate government," by Jefferson Davis, 2 v. and "A constitutional view of the war between the states," by Alexander H. Stephens, 2 v.

In the Confederate *Statutes at large*, of 1864, will be found the body of legislation of four years.

A volume entitled *Echoes from the South* (New York, 1866) contains some of "the most important speeches, proclamations, and public acts emanating from the South during the late war."

The presidential election of 1864, for the choice of a successor to President Lincoln, occurred Nov. 8, 1864. It was participated in by twenty-five states, and resulted in the re-election of Mr. Lincoln. See *Scribner's Statistical atlas*, 1885, plate 9.

NOTE.—Two of the states thus voting (Kentucky and Missouri) were at this time represented in the Congress of the Confederate States, although these never had passed an ordinance of secession. The other eleven Southern States cast no vote in this national presidential election which was counted, though elections were held in Louisiana and Tennessee. The United States Supreme Court, in a decision rendered thirteen years after the close of the war (October, 1878,) took the ground that every seceding state "remained a State of the Union" and "never escaped the obligations" of the Constitution, "though for a while she may have evaded their enforcement." (97 U. S., 461; in *Keith v. Clark*.) The bearing of this upon the questions of "reconstruction" will be noted later on.

President Lincoln encountered, even before the close of his first term, some of the questions involved in the reconstruction of the Union. See the measures with regard to provisional governments, in 1863, 1864, and February, 1865, printed in *McPherson's Political history*, pp. 317-32; also *Stanwood's History of presidential elections*, pp. 248-52.

Some of the noteworthy utterances of Mr. Lincoln, during his presidency, are (1) his Gettysburg address, Nov. 19, 1863 (printed in *Raymond's Life of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 412-13); (2) his annual message of December 5, 1864 (in *Raymond*, pp. 624-36); and (3) his second inaugural address, March 4, 1865 (in *Raymond*, pp. 670-71).

The assassination of the President, by John Wilkes Booth, April 14, 1865, terminated his short second term. See chap. 21 of *Raymond's Life of Abraham Lincoln*. The same work contains, in an appendix, the official action taken in relation to the assassination, and the arrest, trial, and sentence of the conspirators.

See also the complete report of *The assassination of President Lincoln*

and the trial of the conspirators (Cincinnati, 1865, 421 pages, octavo), compiled by Benn Pitman.

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

[1865-1869.]

Mr. Johnson was the third occupant of the presidential chair who had succeeded to it on the death of the President regularly elected. [See preceding lists, on Tyler and Fillmore.]

There is no satisfactory life of Mr. Johnson. There is, however, an authentic **Biographical introduction**, by Frank Moore, prefixed to the volume: **Speeches of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States** (Boston, 1865), pp. i-xlviii.

See also other authorities cited in Lator's **Cyclopædia of political science**, v. 2, p. 640.

Also the obituary addresses delivered in Congress, Jan. 11, 1876.

NOTE.—Mr. Johnson died July 31, 1875, while serving as a United States senator from Tennessee.

For biography of his contemporaries, see those cited under Lincoln, particularly those of Seward and Sumner.

The salient feature of Johnson's administration is the conflict of views on the method of reconstruction. For a comprehensive record of the congressional, the executive, and the judicial action bearing on this question, with great fulness of detail, see **McPherson's Political history of the United States of America during the period of reconstruction**, pp. 1-415.

The overwhelming Republican majority in Congress (see **McPherson**, pp. 107-8, 181-83, 347-48, also **Johnston**, pp. 198, 204) rendered it possible to carry through the various measures proposed (the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, the Freedmen's Bureau acts, the provisional government for Southern States, the Tenure of Office act, etc.). See **Johnston's History of American politics**, ch. 21; **Wilson's Rise and fall of the slave power**, v. 3, pp. 591-606. Works of Charles Sumner, v. 9-11; **Julian's Political Recollections**, pp. 260-74, 302-19.

The Democratic position was, in brief, that the measures of the Republican majority in Congress were "usurpations and unconstitutional." See **Barnes's History of the 39th Congress**; also speech of Samuel J. Randall in the House, 1st session, 39th Congress, in the **Congressional Globe**, pp. 662-65.

NOTE.—The position of the Democratic party has nowhere, perhaps, been more fully expressed than in its platform adopted at the national convention of 1868. Printed in **McPherson**, pp. 367-68.

The President, though acting through the last few years as a Republican, took issue, almost immediately on assuming his duties, with the Republican position. His views are expressed not only in his successive annual messages, but in his ten veto messages (in **McPherson**, pp. 64-84, 143-81, 384-91).

For contemporary comment and discussion, see Mr. Sumner's speeches in the Senate (**Works**, v. 10, 11); also a series of articles by Edwin P. Whipple in the **Atlantic**, v. 16, p. 238; v. 17, p. 500; v. 18, p. 374; v. 18, 634;

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also **James Russell Lowell's** articles in the *North American Review*, 1865-66, v. 101, pp. 193-205; v. 103, pp. 520-49.

The President, besides enunciating his views in communications to Congress, took repeated occasions to address the public on the subject of his policy. (**McPherson**, pp. 44-63, 127-43). The humorous aspect of these deliverances gave rise to various satirical publications. See **Mr. Hosea Biglow's Speech in March Meeting**, by **James Russell Lowell**, *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1866, v. 17, pp. 635-45; also **Swingin' round the circle**, by **Petroleum V. Nasby**, by **Mr. D. R. Locke**. The breach between the President and Congress finally issued in the only attempt ever made to impeach a President of the United States. See **Lalor's Cyclopædia of political science**, v. 2, pp. 482-84.

The impeachment proceedings extended from Feb. 24 to May 26, 1868, without result. See the reports on **The impeachment of President Johnson** (published by order of the Senate), 3 v., 1868. The comprehensive argument of Judge Benjamin R. Curtis in defence of the President may be found in **G. T. Curtis's Memoir of Benjamin R. Curtis**, etc., v. 2, pp. 343-422.

The question of civil-service reform was brought to public attention during this administration by Thomas A. Jenckes (member of the House from Rhode Island), whose reports on **The civil service of the United States** were published by the government, 1868.

The presidential election of 1868 was participated in by all the states but Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas. See **Stanwood's Presidential elections**, p. 268-70.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

[1869-1877.]

For biographies of Grant, see the **Life** by **Dana and Wilson**; also that by **Coppée**. His military career is described in the **Military History of Gen. U. S. Grant**, by **A. Badeau**.

Biographical material relating to his contemporaries will be found in the **Lives of Sumner, Garfield**, and others already cited. See also **Sumner's Works**, v. 10-12; also **Julian's Political recollections**.

In the Congress which met December 5, 1870 (at which all the States were represented for the first time since 1860), the first of a series of acts was passed for resorting to armed force in the reconstruction measures. See **Johnston's History of American politics**, pp. 213-15; also **McPherson's Hand-book of politics**, 1870-72, pp. 3-8.

Compare also **The prostrate state** (South Carolina), by **James S. Pike** (1873), for the effects of this policy in the South.

For the financial legislation of this administration see **Sumner's History of American currency**; also the interesting series of articles by the same author in *Harper's Weekly*, January 10, 17, 24, 31, and February 7, 1885, v. 29, pp. 23, 43, 58, 78, 91; also **Spaulding's History of the legal-tender paper money**; also the **Selected speeches and reports of John Sherman**, pp. 207-548;

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also **McPherson's Hand-book**, 1870-72, pp. 53-61; 1872-74, pp. 160-87; 1874-76, pp. 183-200.

NOTE.—The act for the resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879, was passed January 7, 1875, and approved January 14th.

For the decisions of the Supreme Court touching upon this question, see the case of **Knox v. Lee**, etc. (**Legal-tender cases**) [12 **Wallace**, pp. 532-33]; also the chapter on **The legal-tender cases in the Supreme Court of the United States, in Knox's United States notes**, pp. 156-66; also the extracts given in **McPherson's Hand-book of politics**, 1872, pp. 53-62.

The gradual tendency to an abuse of power by the party in the majority may be considered to have had two noteworthy results: (1) the emphasizing of the necessity for reform in the civil service (see the **Jenckes bills** of 1868; also the legislation of March 3, 1871 [United States Statutes, section 1753], printed also in **McPherson's Hand-book**, 1870-72, p. 64; also the special report on **The Civil Service**, by **T. A. Jenckes**, 1868 [separately published], in which his bills are printed). (2) the Liberal-republican movement of 1870-72 (see **Stanwood's Presidential elections**, pp. 278-79, 284-90). For the presidential election of 1872, see ch. 23 of **Stanwood**; also **McPherson's Hand-book**, 1872-74, p. 228; also **Johnston's History of American politics**, pp. 218-22. For the reverses met with by the Republicans in the state elections of 1874-75, see **Johnston**, p. 229; also the **Tribune almanac**, 1875, and 1876.

Two other events of uncommon interest occurred under Grant's presidency. (1) the treaty of Washington of May 8, 1871 (see the text of the treaty in **Treaties and conventions**, pp. 413-28; also the volume, **The treaty of Washington**, by **Caleb Cushing**, one of the counsel for the United States; also the various reports, etc., connected with the Geneva arbitration). (2) the **Centennial exhibition** at Philadelphia, May 10 to November 10, 1876, signaling the completion of the first hundred years of the republic. (See the **Reports of the international exhibition**, etc., 36 vols., or "groups," 1877.)

NOTE.—A volume which appeared during the year 1876, entitled "The first century of the republic," reviewed the progress made during one hundred years, in every department of science, art, and literature. Numerous other similar centennial summaries also appeared at this time.

Presidential election of 1876.

The presidential election of 1876 resulted in a majority by the popular vote for the Democratic candidate. (See **Stanwood**, p. 331, for the figures.)

In the counting of the electoral vote, however, perplexities of an extraordinary nature were met, and the measure finally resorted to (the Electoral Commission Act of January 29, 1877) is itself regarded as extra-constitutional. The act is printed in **Stanwood**, pp. 332-36. See also **McPherson**, 1876-78, pp. 8-9; also the government report entitled **Counting the electoral votes, 1789-1877**; compare also the arguments of Senator Morton, January 20, 1875 (**Congressional Record**, v. 3, pt. I, pp. 626-32).

The labors of the electoral commission resulted (March 2, 1877) in the declaration of the election of Mr. Hayes, the Republican candidate, as President.

NOTE.—"It is to be hoped," says Mr. Stanwood (p. 344), "that the patriotism of the American people and their love of peace may never again be put to such a severe test as was that of 1876 and 1877."

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HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION.

[1877-1881.]

The only biographies of him are the two Campaign lives of 1876, one of which was by the novelist **W. D. Howells**.

The events of the six months preceding President Hayes's inauguration had so strongly emphasized the unwisdom of military government in the southern states that the President's action (April 3 and April 20, 1877) in withdrawing the troops met with no effectual protest. (See **Lalor's Cyclopædia of political science**, v. 3, p. 545; also **Stanwood**, p. 353; also **McPherson**, 1876-78, pp. 69-81.)

The action of the government during these four years in relation to civil-service reform was unimportant and ineffectual. The **Jay Commission** was, however, appointed during this administration; and during the closing weeks of this administration, February 16, 1881, was introduced the bill (the **Pendleton bill**) finally passed, January 4, 1883.

NOTE.—The utterance of the Republican platform of 1876 on this point, however, had been uncommonly explicit and straightforward. (Printed in **McPherson**, 1876-78, p. 210.)

The important financial event of this administration is the resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879 (in accordance with the act of 1875). See pp. 141-44 of **United States notes** (1884), by **John Jay Knox** (late Comptroller of the Currency).

Later in the same year, May 24, 1879, the act known as the Silver-Coinage bill was passed by Congress. (Printed in **McPherson's Hand-book**, 1880-82, pp. 25-27.)

The question of a tariff policy, while avoided by the national political conventions, came up in the House in 1878 in connection with the Wood bill for a reduction of duties. See *Congressional Record*, v. 7, pt. 3, pp. 2393-2402; also appendix, pp. 290-94, 428-35, etc.

In a special message to Congress, March 8, 1880, President Hayes called the attention of Congress to the steps taken on the part of various European powers towards the securing of an interoceanic canal at some point in Central America or elsewhere. (Printed in Senate Document 112, 46th Congress, 2d session, pp. 312-13.) This canal, President Hayes maintained, will be "virtually a part of the coast line of the United States."

In 1880 was taken the tenth census of the United States. See **Reports**, vols. 1 to 10 thus far published.

The presidential election of 1880 resulted in the choice of the Republican candidates by a slight popular plurality, the majority of electoral votes being, however, 59. (See figures in **Stanwood**, p. 373.) "Thirty-eight States," says **Stanwood**, "took part in the election; in each the appointment of electors was by popular vote; and every electoral vote was counted as it was cast." "The two latter assertions," he adds, "can be made of no earlier election in the history of the country" (p. 372).

GARFIELD'S ADMINISTRATION.

[1881, March to September.]

Various Campaign biographies of General Garfield appeared during the year 1880. Among others may be mentioned those by **Balch, Gilmore, Bundy, Thayer, and Brisbin**, neither one of them being of more than ephemeral value. Of a more ambitious nature are **Garfield's place in history**, by **H. C. Pedder**, and the **Eulogy on James Abram Garfield**, delivered before both houses of Congress, February 27, 1882, by **J. G. Blaine** (Boston, 1882).

Of somewhat greater value, as reprinting some of General Garfield's most noteworthy writings, is **The republican text-book, 1880**, edited by **B. A. Hinsdale**.

NOTE.—Since President Garfield's death, his complete "Works," in two octavo volumes, have made their appearance, under the editorship also of Mr. Hinsdale.

President Garfield's brief and tragic administration of less than seven months divides itself naturally into two portions: (1) from March 4 to July 2, during which the President was in the full exercise of his functions; (2) from July 2 to September 19, during which, as a dying man, his position was one of constitutional "inability to discharge" these functions. (See the United States Constitution, art. 2, sec. 1, par. 6.)

During the first of these two periods singularly little of note was accomplished, except in connection with the foreign relations of the country.

June 24, 1881, President Garfield's Secretary of State (James G. Blaine) addressed to the United States minister at each of the European courts a circular in relation to the proposed interoceanic canal, in which the ground was taken that action such as that under consideration "would necessarily be regarded as an uncalled-for intrusion into a field where the local and general interests of the United States of America must be considered before those of any other power save those of the United States of Colombia alone." (Printed in "Papers relating to the foreign relations of the United States," 1881, pp. 537-40.) For comments on Mr. Blaine's position, in detail, see the dispatches of Lord Granville, etc., below cited.

During the second period of President Garfield's administration, the grave questions relating to the constitutional exercise of the presidential functions "in case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office," became matters of pressing importance.

For various discussions of the question, by Judge **Cooley** of the University of Michigan, ex-Senator **Trumbull**, Prof. **Theodore W. Dwight**, and others, see the *North American Review*, Nov., 1881, v. 133, pp. 417-46. See also the article, "Inability or disability of the President," in **Appletons' Annual cyclopædia**, 1881, p. 414-18.

NOTE.—This question was brought duly to the attention of Congress by President Arthur in his first annual message, December 6, 1881 ("Message and documents," 1881, pp. xxxi-xxxii). For the three propositions intended to meet this difficulty, which were debated in the Senate during December, 1881, see the *Congressional Record*, December, 1881. Unfortunately, no definite action has as yet been taken on the subject.

As a matter of fact the executive functions were discharged, during the months of President Garfield's illness, by no one person, the head of each department attending to the duties of his own office. Compare Judge **Cooley's** remarks, *North American Review*, v. 133, p. 425.

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ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

[1881-85.]

There is no biographical material of importance in print relating to Mr. Arthur. See, however, a brief sketch at the end of the *Life of James A. Garfield*, by B. A. Hinsdale, pp. 84-88. Also the article "Arthur" in *Appletons' American annual cyclopædia*, 1881, pp. 36-38. Like three of his predecessors (Tyler, Fillmore, and Johnson), President Arthur succeeded to his position in virtue of his predecessor's removal by death.

For the changes in the Cabinet resulting from his accession, see *Johnston's History of American politics*, p. 308.

Chinese immigration.

The discussion of the question of Chinese immigration, previously agitated in 1880, resulted in the passage, May 2, 1882, of a restrictive bill. (Printed in *McPherson's Hand-book*, 1880-82, pp. 105-7.)

NOTE.—See the extended list of references on the subject in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, April, 1882, v. 2, pp. 11, 13.

The tariff.

The tariff question had been only evasively treated in the national platforms of the presidential year, 1880. See the text of these in *Stanwood*, p. 358-67.

President Arthur's first annual message (December 6, 1881) had recommended the appointment of a tariff commission. (*Message and documents*, 1881, pp. xv-xvi.)

For the discussion in Congress on this recommendation (December, 1881, to May, 1882, resulting in its passage May 9, 1882), see the *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st session; also the references in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, December, 1882, v. 2 pp. 43-49; also *Appletons' Annual cyclopædia*, 1882, pp. 777-85.

The commission reported, December 5, 1882, in favor of a reduction of twenty per cent. (See the *Report of the commission*, printed by the government, 2 volumes, 1882.)

The commission bill was not adopted, but a law, finally shaped by a Conference Committee, was passed. For the legislation to promote its passage, see *Appletons' Annual cyclopædia*, 1882, p. 784.

The new law took effect July 1, 1883. The schedule of duties may be found in the *Tribune almanac*, 1884, p. 15-34. It is also published separately. See also *Morgan's U. S. import duties* (Baltimore, 1883).

NOTE.—In the study of tariff measures during this administration, as of all such measures since 1860, "The history of the present tariff," by F. W. Taussig, will be found of great service.

President Arthur's second annual message, (December 4, 1882) recommended, in general, a modification of "the present tariff system"; and in particular, among other points, a "substantial reduction of the duties" upon such raw materials as cotton and iron. (*Message and documents*, 1882, p. xiii.)

He again returned to the subject in his fourth annual message, December 1, 1884. His suggestion is that by "reducing tariff burdens on such [imported] wares as neither we nor the other American states are fitted to produce," we may "obtain in return a better market for our supplies of food, of raw material, and of the manufactures in which we excel." (*Message and documents*, 1884.)

NOTE.—The Secretary of the Treasury also (Mr. McCulloch), in his annual report of the same date, emphatically recommends "that the existing duties upon raw materials which are to be used in manufacture should be removed." ("Message and documents," 1884.)

For the argument on this question, see, on the free trade side, the publications of the New York Free Trade Club, 39 Nassau street, New York, and particularly a *Primer of Tariff Reform*, by D. A. Wells, *The Destructive Influences of the Tariff, and Wages and Trade*, by J. Schönhof, and the forthcoming *Economic Fact-book*, edited by R. R. Bowker; on the protectionist side, *Government revenue*, by Ellis H. Roberts (Boston, 1884,) and the *Tariff tracts*, of the American Iron and Steel Association, 261 South Fourth street, Philadelphia.

The reciprocity treaties.

Side by side with this series of tariff recommendations, there was developed under President Arthur a well-defined policy of trade extension, by the negotiation of commercial treaties (among other measures). In his third annual message (December 4, 1883) he refers incidentally to the subject (*Message and documents*, 1883, p. vi); but in his fourth annual message (December 1, 1884) he declares: "The countries of the American continent and adjacent islands are, for the United States, the natural marts of supply and demand. It is from them that we should obtain what we do not produce, or do not produce in sufficiency, and it is to them that the surplus productions of our fields, our mills, and our workshops should flow under conditions that will equalize or favor them in comparison with foreign competition." (*Message and documents*, 1884.)

In pursuance of this policy, the State Department has since 1882 been engaged in negotiations for commercial treaties with Mexico, Santo Domingo, and Spain (the treaty in the last instance affecting only our relations with the Spanish islands, Cuba and Porto Rico, and not at all those with Spain herself).

NOTE.—The commercial convention with Mexico was negotiated January 20, 1883; was ratified by the Senate March 11, 1884; was brought to the attention of the House (for its action on the eighth article, relating to revenue legislation) by the President, in his message of December 1, 1884. The action of the House on this treaty, January 28, 1884, though not an official rejection, is regarded as decisively hostile to the measure. (*Congressional Record*, January 29, 1883, pp. 1176-78.) The commercial convention with Spain was negotiated November, 1884, replacing an earlier one of January, 1884; was brought to the attention of the Senate in the usual message of the President, December 1, 1884 ("Message and documents," 1884). It has since then been discussed by the Senate in secret session only. The text of both the above has been published separately by the United States government. The commercial treaty with Santo Domingo was also negotiated in 1884. See the President's message of December 1, 1884.

The commercial treaties above referred to have been very widely objected to as being hopelessly objectionable in their details, even by those who consider the principle of them sound.

See, for instance, the remarks of Senator Morrill, January 7, 1885, in opposition to the Mexican treaty (*Congressional Record*, January 8, 1885, pp. 574-80); also *The American* of January 10, 1885, pp. 211, 219.

Objections to the Spanish Treaty are considered in *The Nation*, December 4, 1884, v. 39, p. 491 (editorial paragraphs); *The Nation*, December 18, v. 39, pp. 511, 516-18; *The Nation*, December 25, v. 39, pp. 533, 538; *The Nation*, January 1, 1885, v. 40, p. 1; *Bradstreet's*, December 6, 1884, v. 11, pp. 356-57 ("The proposed commercial treaty with Spain"); *Bradstreet's*, December 13, 1884, v. 11, p. 370 ("The proposed Spanish treaty"); also in same number "The peril of the reciprocity treaties," v. 11, pp. 371-72. In the same number (December 13), p. 374, is a communication on "The sugar trade," in relation to this treaty. Its favorable arguments are opposed by a communication headed "Sugar," in the

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number for December 27, 1884, v. 11 pp. 406. See also in the same journal (*Bradstreet's*) January 10, 1885, v. 12, pp. 23 ("Eastern opinions of the treaties").

The Spanish treaty has encountered the opposition of the advocates of tariff reform, as it would virtually render impossible the adoption of any such measure as the reduction or removal of duties on raw materials. See the report to the New York Free Trade Club, published (January, 1885) under the title "The Spanish treaty opposed to tariff reform" (New York, 31 pages, 12mo). This report contains tables and statistics of great value.

The Spanish treaty has also met the opposition of the merchants engaged in foreign commerce. The American negotiator of the treaty having presented the arguments in its favor before the New York Chamber of Commerce, December 12, 1884, three reports on the subject were made to that body December 22, 1884, and the treaty was condemned by a nearly two-thirds vote. (See report in *New York Times* and *New York Tribune* of December 23, 1884.)

The American negotiator of the treaty also published in various journals (see, for instance, the *Boston Sunday Herald*, of January 18, 1885), an elaborate defence of the treaty. See an answer to him in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, of January 23, 1885 ("The Spanish treaty again").

Secretary Frelinghuysen, in an official communication to the President, December 11, 1884, emphasizes the chief advantages of the treaty. (See also his elaborate defence of the reciprocity treaties, and the reciprocity policy, in his letter to Senator J. F. Miller, made public February 24, 1885, and printed in the daily journals of that date.) March 2, 1885, an amended form of the Spanish treaty was sent to the Senate. There was also ordered published, January 20, 1885, in answer to an inquiry from the Senate, an elaborate memorandum of the statistics of trade with the Spanish-American countries, the tables and figures of which are of great value. This constitutes Executive Document No. 39, 48th Congress, 2d session.

NOTE.—A message from President Cleveland, dated March 12, 1885, calling for a withdrawal of the Spanish treaty, was received by the Senate on that day. Supplementary negotiations with the Spanish government have since been in progress.

Canal diplomacy.

Another important feature of President Arthur's administration has been the diplomatic correspondence carried on with Great Britain by his two Secretaries of State (Mr. Blaine, September 19 to December 12, 1881, and Mr. Frelinghuysen, December 12, 1881, to March 4, 1885), in relation to proposed inter-oceanic canals.

NOTE.—Mr. Blaine's circular of June 24, 1881 (above cited), was replied to by Earl Granville, November 10, 1881 ("Foreign relations," 1881, p. 549). The farther correspondence of Lord Granville ("Foreign relations," 1881, pp. 561-62), and the chapter on "The present question with the United States," in the volume "Essays on some disputed questions in modern international law," by T. J. Lawrence (Cambridge, Eng., 1884), may be consulted for a comprehensive examination of the position assumed by Mr. Blaine's circular. Mr. Lawrence's book is reviewed in the *Saturday Review*, February 14, 1885, v. 59, pp. 216-17.

Various pamphlets, articles, etc., also have been published in the United States calling in question the soundness of Mr. Blaine's foreign policy.

Compare also the works cited under "The proposed interoceanic canal," in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, December, 1881, v. 1, p. 45.

Mr. Frelinghuysen, on becoming Secretary of State, while discontinuing the line of policy followed by his predecessor in his dealings with Chili (*Foreign relations*, 1882, pp. 56-58), reopened negotiations with Great Britain in relation to a canal policy, in his dispatch of May 8, 1882 (*Foreign relations*, 1882, pp. 271-83). Compare also the other correspondence in this volume, and that of 1883. Also the reprint of the same in *Correspondence in relation to the proposed interoceanic canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and the Monroe doctrine* (published January, 1885, as Senate executive document, No. 112, 46th Congress, 2d session), pp. 340-67. (See also chapter 5 of the *Monroe doctrine*, by George F. Tucker, Boston, 1885.)

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The result reached by the State Department has been the negotiation of a treaty between this country and the republic of Nicaragua for the construction of an interoceanic canal.

NOTE.—This treaty was concluded November 28, 1884, and was first brought to the attention of Congress in the President's message of December 1, 1884 ("Message and documents," 1884). It was under consideration by the Senate in secret session for several weeks. On the 19th of January, 1885, a vote adverse to the treaty was had in the Senate, which, however, does not preclude its coming up for consideration in future.

The text of the treaty appeared in the *New York Tribune* of December 11, 1884. For the text of other treaties bearing upon the principles here involved, see (1) the treaty with New Granada, 1846 ("Treaties and conventions," pp. 177-88); (2) the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain, 1850 ("Treaties and conventions," pp. 377-80); (3) the treaty with Nicaragua, 1867 ("Treaties and conventions," pp. 627-34).

The diplomatic correspondence between this country and Great Britain has not been made public for a period later than November 22, 1883. Until the subsequent correspondence, together with the debates in secret session of the Senate, become accessible, there is hardly a basis for forming an intelligent opinion as to the Nicaragua treaty.

A letter from Secretary Frelinghuysen to Senator Miller, reviewing the bearings of this treaty also, was made public, February 28, 1885.

March 12, 1885, this treaty was withdrawn in a message from President Cleveland, for the purpose of fresh consideration.

National defences.

Measures looking to the placing of the army, the navy, and the sea-coast defences on an adequate footing have been strenuously advocated by President Arthur in each successive annual message. (*Message and documents*, 1881, pp. xvii-xviii; 1882, p. xiv; 1883, pp. xiv-xv; also 1884.)

NOTE.—In his message of December 1, 1884, he urges that an appropriation of \$10,000,000 per year for six years be made for coast defences.

For a discussion of the military needs of the United States, see the extraordinarily valuable prize essays, by officers of the regular army, published in the September and December numbers of the *Journal of the Military Service Institution*. See also the discussion of **Heavy ordnance for national defence**, by Lieut. W. H. Jaques (New York, 1885).

Financial measures.

The financial measures of the last four years have embraced the re-chartering of the national banks by the act of July 11, 1882 (printed in *McPherson's hand-book*, 1880-82, pp. 147-49). See H. W. Richardson's convenient little treatise, **The National banks** (New York, 1882).

NOTE.—See also the special list of references on the "National banks," in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, August, 1882, v. 2, p. 27. The United States Supreme Court decision of October, 1883, on the legal-tender issues (*Juillard v. Greenman*) is printed in the appendix to Knox's "United States notes," pp. 193-229, together with Judge Field's dissenting opinion.

President Arthur has strongly recommended the discontinuance of the silver coinage, in his annual message of 1882, p. xi; 1883, pp. xiii-xiv; also that of 1884.

In his message (1884) he admonishes Congress of the "commercial disturbance and the impairment of national credit" which would be occasioned by persistence in the present policy.

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NOTE.—A letter addressed by Mr. Cleveland (during the week before his inauguration as President), to Mr. A. J. Warner, of the House of Representatives, (dated Albany, February 24, 1885), is a strikingly emphatic condemnation of the silver policy.

Civil-service reform.

The act which has since become embodied in legislation as the **Civil-Service reform bill** was introduced in the Senate (as above cited) February 16, 1881. For debate on it in Congress during the next two years, see the *Congressional Record*, 1881 and 1882.

NOTE.—See also the special list on "The civil-service," in the *Monthly Reference Lists*, January, 1883, v. 3, pp. 1-2. See also "The literature of civil-service reform in the United States" (1881), by W. E. Foster; also "The civil-service reform movement" (1882), by W. E. Foster.

President Arthur, while in his annual message of 1881 (p. xxix) giving the subject only slight consideration, in that of 1882 (p. xxiii) urged the passage of the Pendleton bill.

The bill was passed January 4, 1883. (It is printed in **McPherson's handbook**, 1882-4, pp. 8-10.) It went into opposition July 16, 1883.

As to its workings in the last year and a half the President bears emphatic testimony in his annual messages of 1883 (p. xx) and 1884.

"The good results" foreshadowed, he declares in his message of 1884, "have been more than realized. The system has fully answered the expectations of its friends."

Two successive annual reports of the Civil-service Commission have been printed (February, 1884, and February, 1885).

NOTE.—As a result of the successful demonstration of the practical nature of this measure, the reform has gradually been introduced in state and municipal administrations. See the annual reports of the respective civil-service commissions of the states of New York and Massachusetts, and of the city of Brooklyn, N. Y., the last, drafted by E. M. Shepard, including a "civil list," and the examination questions in full. See also the volume on "The civil-service of the United States," by John M. Comstock, 1885; also *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia*, 1884, p. 690-97.

Presidential election of 1884.

The presidential election of 1884 resulted in the choice of the Democratic candidates. (Popular plurality, 62,683; majority of electoral votes, 37. See **American almanac**, 1885, pp. 267, 269.)

For accounts of the President-elect, Grover Cleveland, see his **Life and public services**, by **Pendleton King** (1884); also his **Life**, by **W. Dorsheimer**. Also *Appletons' Annual cyclopædia*, 1884, p. 145-50.

For account of the Independent movement, see **Report of the National Executive Committee of Republicans and Independents** (New York, 1885).

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